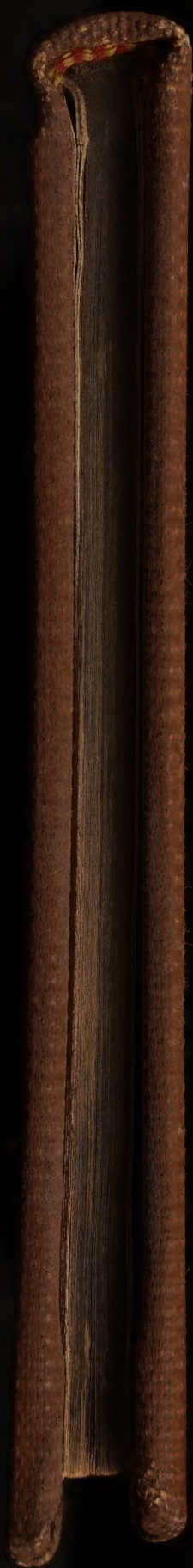


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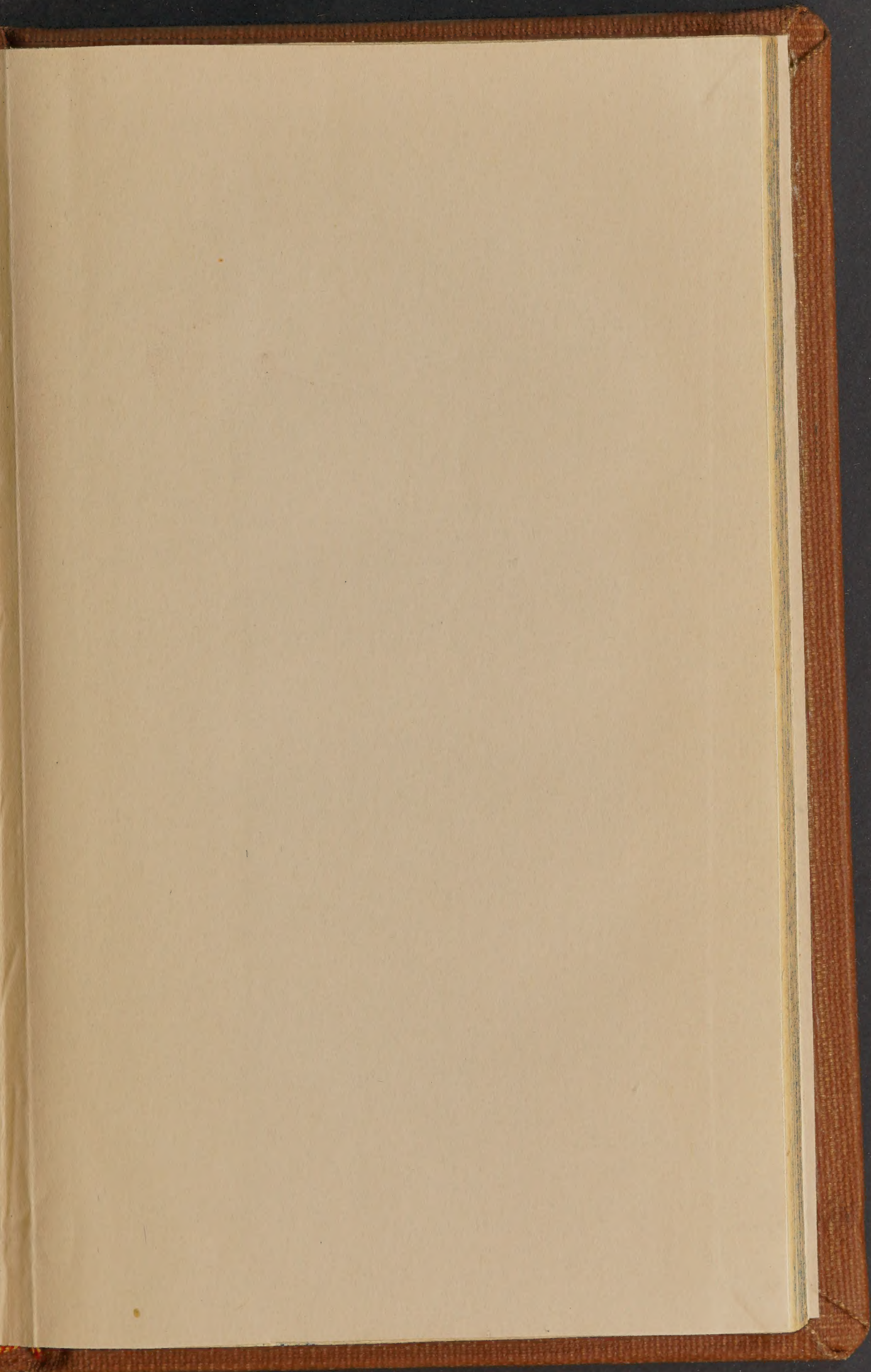
MONTGAILLARD - WAR AND PEACE 1794



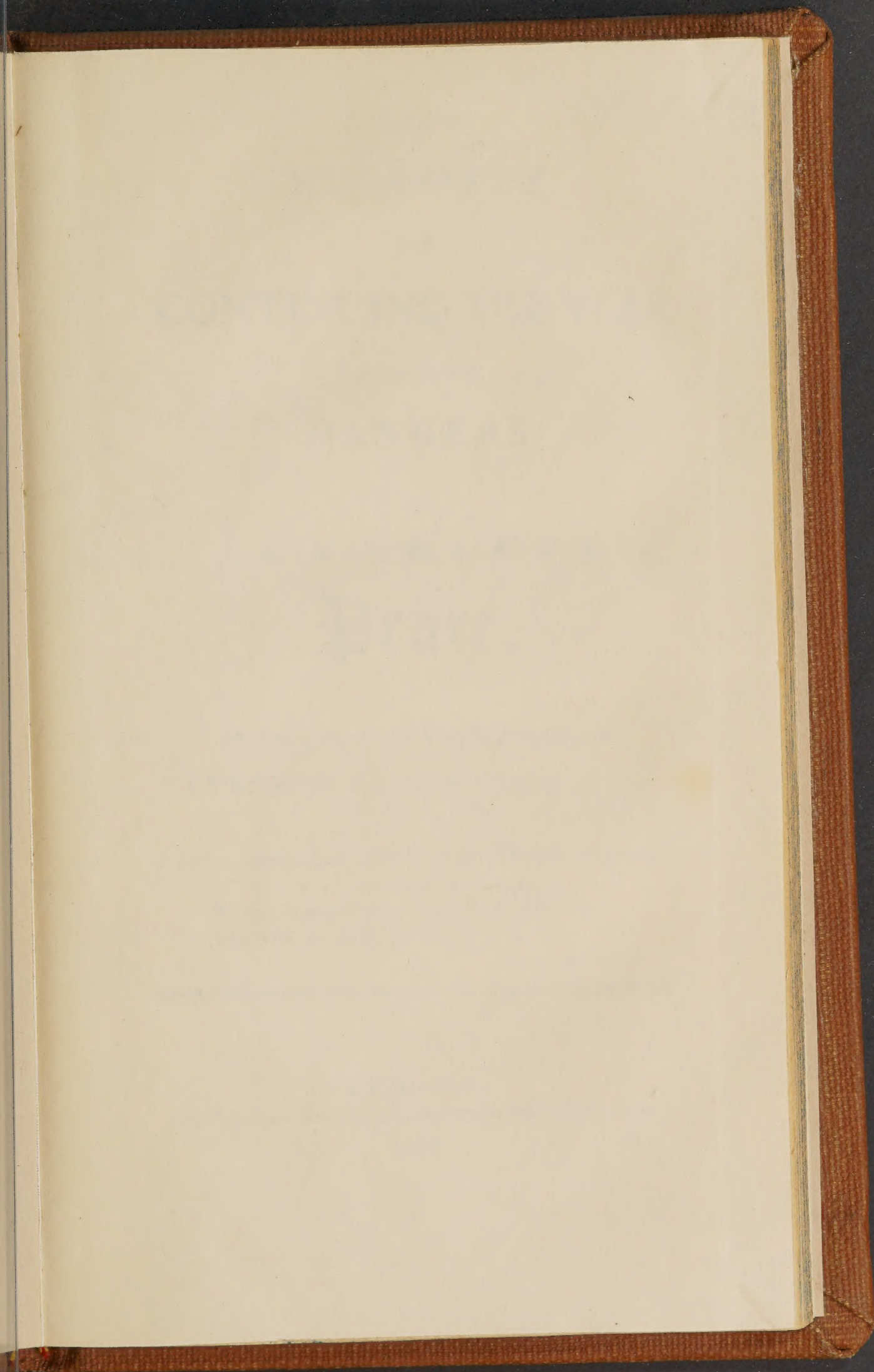


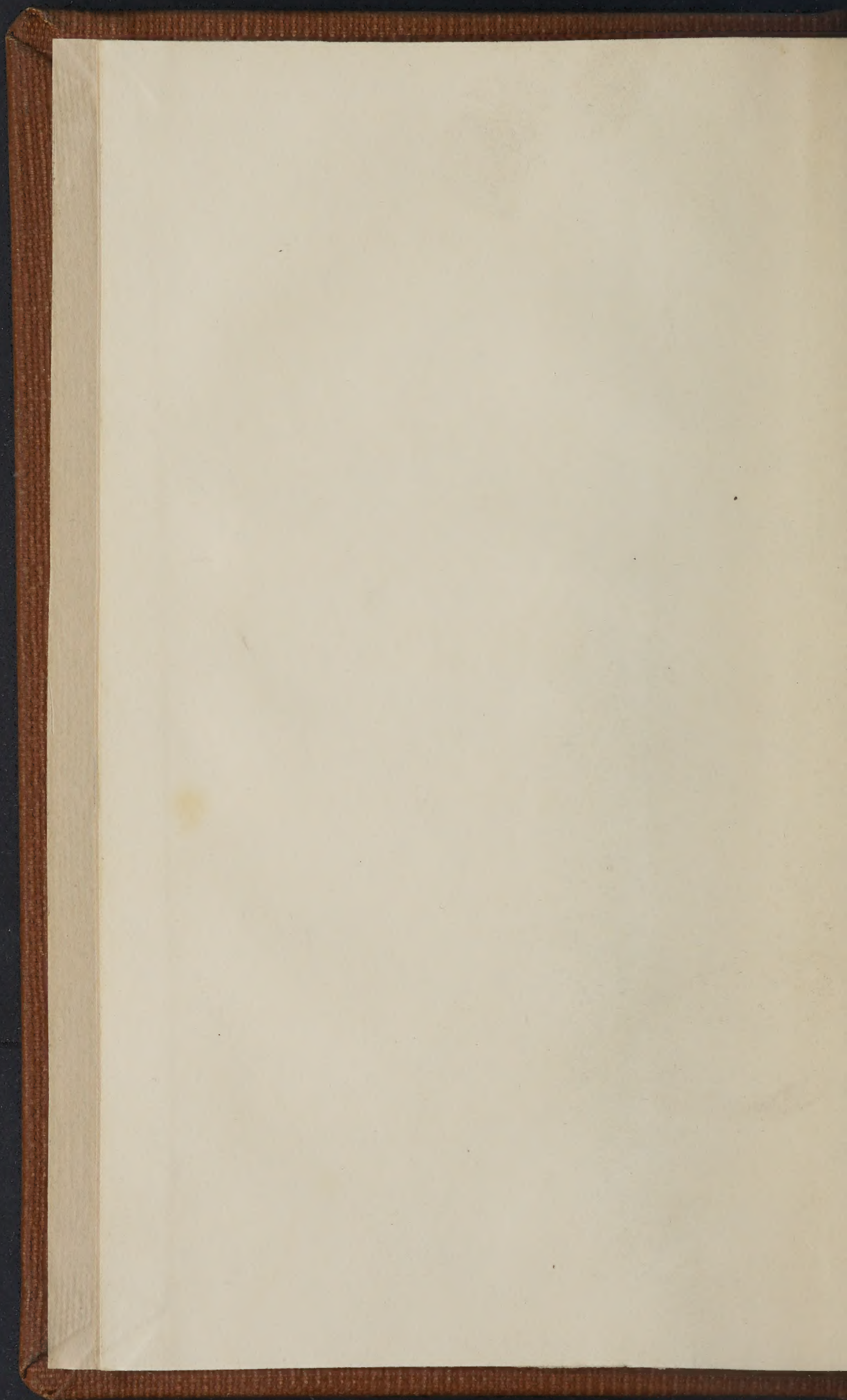


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THE
NECESSITY
OF
CONTINUING THE WAR
AND THE
DANGERS
OF AN
IMMEDIATE
Peace.

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH OF
LE COMTE DE MONTGAILLARD.

----- Fœcundum concute pectus,
Disjice compositam pacem, sere crimina belli:
Arma velit, poscatque simul, rapiatque juventus.

VIRG. *Æn.* Lib. 7.

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1794.

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P R E F A C E.

DURING the prevalence of public troubles and divisions, circumstances are so fantastically strange, and so replete with difficulties, that they almost perpetually bear away from the private individual the obscurity of his situation and the welfare with which it is connected. If, anxious for the welfare of his country, this individual should, for a moment, lift up his voice in favour of truth; if he should declare what were the crimes of one party, and the misfortunes of another, then, becoming the object either of the hatred of the ignorant, or of the fear of the guilty, and reduced to a reliance upon his conscience alone, and the strength of his single testimony, he will find his character either torn to pieces, in all quarters, or universally and insidiously applauded: all, even in friendships not excepted, endeavour to betray confidence; and perfidiousness itself runs forward to the support of folly.

B

Compelled to submit to considerations which I shall constantly think it my duty to respect, I will declare what are the measures to which Europe may still adhere; and I will write equally without dread and without temerity. There is, I am convinced, one wrong which the enemies of royalty can never forgive; and this is my having proceeded irreproachably: for, the *CONSTITUTIONNELS* *, as the result of losing the right of being generous, have renounced the right of being just. Sure of deserving their hatred, I shall only avoid their suffrages. As, otherwise, I must either have partaken of their principles or approved of their conduct, so I have invariably preferred their maledictions.

I assert it loudly: I know but of two parties in the world. These must be either Loyalists or Jacobins; faithful subjects of the monarch and his government, or violaters of his mandates and of his laws. All these names beneath the shelter of which ambition, ingratitude, and infidelity have

* By the term *Constitutionnels* is meant the first members of the assembly in 1789 and 1790, who enacted the constitution to which the king assented.

taken refuge; all these CONSTITUTIONNELS whom such a number of calamities accuse, at this day, of such a multitude of crimes, but, who arrogate to themselves a virtue from the transgressions of the Convention, dare to remain unmindful of that generous contempt which protects them in foreign lands; all these mandatories who were only capable of setting their consciences at defiance, and of behaving with audacity against their sovereign; all these members of the first *National Convention* of France*, who have usurped

* It, surely, is unnecessary, in this place, to affirm that I have not the least intention of comprising under such a denomination those deputies who are dear to honour, those true Frenchmen who never deserted the cause, those subjects who swore *to remain faithful to the blood of St. Louis*; those men to whom a distinguished writer attributed, in his immortal pages, the title *of the last of the Romans*. The esteem of the public separates them from all the CONSTITUTIONNELS to whom we now allude; and they pride themselves upon rendering to those *Deputies to the States General*, that justice which they have never ceased to merit. But I make this remark to deprive calumniators even of the pretext of my silence, which they would not have failed to interpret against me, and particularly if it could appear in favour of their conduct.

the misfortunes of emigration, have rallied together against me in defence of their own principles. I am become guilty in their opinion, because I would not deceive the governing powers ; because I would not induce the French people to reason according to the views of these assassins, and because I have, also, asserted how much the French people despised and accused the CONSTITUTIONNELS.

They have promised to bestow upon me this hatred which they have sworn to entertain against the monarchy ; and more zealous to object against me the commission of injuries, than to justify crimes, they even dare to *conspire* against the happiness of a nation, which they have precipitated into the abyss of a revolution. As they despair of making me espouse their principles, there are no tales howsoever absurd ; there are no projects howsoever atrocious ; there are no crimes howsoever ambitious ; there is no baseness ; there is no treachery, there are no intentions, nor any proposition, nor any kind of silence which they have not laid to my charge. What beyond this, therefore,

should I have proved had I been one of the
CONSTITUTIONNELS!

But, let them not flatter themselves with the expectation of finding the oblivion of their own crimes in the crimes of their successors! Upon that ground, posterity is waiting to receive them, nor can they escape from the page of history. Revolutions, indeed, suspend the cause of justice, but, they will, one day, bring it forward, with additional severity and with redoubled inflexibility. It will, then, be discovered what those men were, and of what complexion was this assembly: this assembly participating of so much guilt; those men culpable with either so large a portion of understanding or such a fund of ignorance, who have corrupted the affection of a great nation, and endeavoured to root out Royalty from the heart itself. The miscreants! their only knowledge consisted in vilifying their king, and then betaking themselves to flight; in invading all property; in destroying all orders, and in proscribing princes! and in coming to implore for an asylum which they had them-

selves denounced as a punishment; they threw themselves upon the compassion of Europe, for the purpose of escaping from its justice. They have disarmed vengeance by an excess of meanness, and they have wearied out hatred by the violence of their ignominy. Those very men, who have declared the emigrants guilty of a *Crimen-læsæ-Gentis*, are come to make a beggarly exposition of their misfortunes, and to impose upon us by pleas of poverty. Always faithless to honour, but never to ambition, they have glided afresh into the monarchy, for the purpose of dividing it, even to its very ruins. They have sported not only with the generosity but with the afflictions of their victims: nay, it might be affirmed, that they were afraid of receiving any pardon.

I have lifted up my voice in favour of truth, and, therefore, I am their enemy. Dexterous in leading astray the public opinion, they have striven to unchain it; to let it loose against my person, and against my writings; but this power and these writings will I defend. If there be a single in-

dividual who may have written a line in the two works to which I have prefixed my name ; if there be a single individual who can charge me with any one serious fact, with any equivocal intention, with the employment of a single moment in the pursuit of a questionable conduct, during the course of the last five years, let this individual reveal his name, let him speak out, and let him prove his allegations.

If, whilst I reduce to silence those who feel so much interest in imposing silence upon me, I lie open only to the attacks of either anonymous libels or honourable calumny, then I shall cease to repel them, and I will begin to write.

As to those whose gall is overflowing, who live by imposture, and to whom infamy appears needful ; as to those wretches who are discovered, in the time of public troubles, sowing the seeds of calumny, and spurring forth so much venom from their inconsiderable writings, I shall not soil these pages with their names : their names are become at once their punishment and their

outrage. Only when I stand exposed to their Eulogiums, shall I meet them with a refutation.

THE
NECESSITY OF WAR,
AND THE
DANGERS OF PEACE.

EVENTS succeed to each other with so alarming a rapidity, a reverse of fortune is so interwoven with the lot of the glorious cause of the allies, and calamities follow with so quick a step upon the commission of errors, that, shortly, none will remain for us to experience. Each day produces its misfortune; each day prepares its tribute of victory, and yet occasions the dread of a defeat. This vast hord of men and crimes, which is denominated the *French Republic*, is, perhaps, on the very point of becoming the *universal republic*. The Committee of Public Safety presses closely upon these limits, which were the limits of the Gauls; and, as if the successes of their arms were not sufficient, the Convention seeks for even a better directing spirit, and a

more powerful position. One might infer, that, fatigued by crimes, they would soon dare not to proscribe virtues. They march forward, in the very midst of conquest, towards that constitution which is to unite with all the advantages of the republican government the whole force of a monarchical government; and they place Europe in so difficult a situation, that the powers who yet compose it have as much cause to fear the dangers of the evil, as the perils of the remedies to which they are applied.

Having attained to victory by dint of defeats, the French, at this moment, triumph, in despite even the number of those powers who are at war against them. This receptacle, filled with their bloody spoils, is, now, covered with their trophies. It is in this palace where calumny rests in full security, and where the morals are destitute of an asylum, that men, loaded with laurels and with infamy, threaten the world that they will become its law-givers. Let but some instants pass away, and the robbers of *Latium* will ascend into the Capitol.

It is, now, too late to conceal the truth, that France is this empire, the fertility, the extent, and the enlightened disposition of which are to decide upon the destiny of all Europe. Covered up by nature within the limits of her power, she settled, of her own accord, the limits of monarchies. She shut out from Russia the path to

the empire of the East ; she secured Germany from the almost inevitable dominion of a chief ; she compelled Prussia to dread lest that importance which was acquired for it by the genius of a great king might not surmount either the weakness or the injuries arising throughout the course of a long reign ; she preserved Spain from the consequences a luxurious and effeminate inactivity ; she directed the trident of England ; she guaranteed to Holland her fortunate riches and her ocean ; she secured respect for Sweden and for Denmark ; and she established, for a multitude of inferior states, a protection which covered their imbecility against the rapaciousness of the greater powers, without exciting a jealousy which she only had not the least reason to apprehend.

France was the pledge for all treaties, the necessary intervention of all alliances and claims, and the rock of all pretensions. She was, in a word, both the key-stone and the angles of that immense vault which covered the repose, the force, and the interests of the globe. Her fleets and her armies appeared in every quarter ; and they were likewise within her own bosom. Well, therefore, might the sovereigns of Europe have felt a reason for dreading her decline ; and still more must they have been alarmed at the prevalence of her conquests.

The French monarchy, arrived at that state of aggrandization which had been marked out for it by nature, and by the principles of its government, was obliged to remain within these natural and political limits, which were become so necessary for its preservation. Europe had no cause to fear its influence; but, on the contrary, every motive for expecting all advantages whatsoever from its protection, and from its happy preponderancy in the system of politics. France had no alternative, but either to preserve and defend Europe, or to throw it into agitation and accomplish its destruction.

This people, which occasioned the subjection of Rome, and which Rome did not conquer but with the world; these Gauls, at once the founders and the destroyers of so many different states, adhering, always, to their levity and to their inquietude, and whose character was still more an object of apprehension than their courage: this people had paid obedience to the greatest of their monarchs.—CHARLEMAGNE reigned! Powerful in their constitution, rich in their territory, happy even in the midst of their feodality, this people had rendered France the finest, as she was the most formidable of all empires. Accident, successive ages, and great men, forming an union in rivalry, had accomplished every point for the advancement of her glory. Accident was nothing more than the inevitable law of her prosperity.

Ages were reckoned by the number of provinces which either a victory or a treaty bore away, forever, from their masters. Great men sprang up in these ages, almost as other individuals arose. Louis XIV. was born; Europe had stood in dread of universal monarchy; but, France escaped from so much glory.

In despite of the Regent and his system, in despite of the peace of 1763 and that of 1783, in despite of the sovereignty of Corsica, and of the independancy of North America, France might have secured the repose of Europe, and have maintained its own.

A virtuous king, endued with a goodness of heart which proved still more unfortunate to him than his person; ministers, either insignificant or ambitious; that fatal stranger by whom they were all displaced; the versatility of every principle, the instability of all the powers, and the absolute want of all despotism; a body jealous of every right, and more expert in the usurpation of those rights than careful in watching over their defence; courtiers of the eighteenth century, or, in other words, all the vices of all centuries; a luxury at once corrupting and laying waste; irreligion; the habit of philosophising and selfishness; the reunion of every fault and of every baseness; honour, in short, and even probity brought forth the States General: *they* appeared, and the French monarchy was at an end. Europe, more filled

with jealousy than fired with indignation, was astonished at these occurrences; the foul breath which issued against it from this culpable success soon extended over the whole of its surface; and even renown came forward as an accomplice.

The declaration of the rights of man, and the two years of silence which it had gained by surprise over the different sovereigns, were the philosophical irruption of the Vandals. Already it became easy to foresee that it would spread itself throughout the universe.

In this first contest against the monarchy, all men were either soldiers or auxiliaries. This sole difference existed, that, in the midst of every defection, those who had received the most benefits from the prince were those, also, who lavished against him the more numerous instances of their ingratitude. They insolently raised their withering heads and their hearts which were perpetually depraved; but, covering with ostentatious zeal their parricidal efforts, they assassinated their master, in the name of the country. Reforms were not without their partizans; but, abuses once become the patrimony of some families, became, also, the pretext of all the ambitious; and, with the sole exception of that little number of faithful servants whose names the pen of history will record, and thus do honour to the last days of the monarchy, each abandoned the court which was already itself abandoned.

Obedience was, then, no more than a convention to be renewed; rights came forward to place themselves above duties, and these rights were for the people; but, the duties were expected from the sovereigns. The *Constitutionnels* consecrated these principles, which the *Jacobins* turned to their own advantage; consciences, properties, honour, all were invaded, deserted, and betrayed, in a moment. The first assembly, still more criminal than ignorant, gave the reins up to the legislative assembly, who, unable to resist against their constitution, preferred the fatal honour of proving more guilty than absurd. Then did the republic appear seated in its triumphal car, and dragging after it the bloody carcass of monarchy. It declared war against all Europe, over the surface of which its emissaries pursued their course with impunity, during the space of three years. For a long time despised, no opposition was made against it, excepting such as consisted of faults and negotiations: it availed itself of the one, and met the other with deceit. At the outset, it fought with daggers; but, soon afterwards, to these daggers were added armies. It swore to accomplish the destruction of kings, and it meditated the invasion of universal property.

Attacked, once, in every quarter, and in every quarter defenceless, it, *now*, in every quarter, attacks and triumphs. Let some moments glide away and more calamities, still, arise, and, then,

perhaps, all Europe will either lie at the feet of guilt, or wear its fetters.

What, then, is this empire of the Committee of Public Safety, so far as it operates over the cabinets of monarchs? What, then, is this fortune which is never treacherous except against virtue and justice? What is this ascendancy of a *Pichegru* or of a *Jourdan* over the *Prince of Saxe-Coburg* and over *General De Clairfayt*? What is this prudence, and what are these politics of government, and what the activity, and what the politics of their adversaries? Amidst this struggle of all tyrannies, and of all crimes, against all lawful authority, calamities continued perpetually on one side, and success on the other! *here*, we perceive princes as great as their names, generals worthy of all their glory, and ministers grown old in the interests of courts and in the service of government; *there*, we observe young miscreants escaped from the bar, and the theatres, their characters blown upon by their own fellow citizens, and trembling at the foot of either the scaffold or the Pantheon; in one quarter, all the monarchies of Europe, and, in the other, the bloody relics and shapeless remains of this monarchy which excited, two years before, their pity and their contempt.

Ah! doubtless, great errors, and that perilous confidence which is produced by wild infatuation, a degree of blindness and all their various false reports precipitated Europe into the chaos of devas-

tation ! doubtless, the disposition of this powerful enemy of nature has been erroneously investigated, and still more inefficaciously contended against. Let us not any longer flatter ourselves that we can either enchain or disarm *Jacobinism*, by acknowledging *its republic*. This act would prove the death warrants against all the governments who might sign it ; and there is no one against which *the French revolution* would not, in consequence, afterwards, rise up as an opposing army. The captains of *Alexander* put their signatures only to the dismemberment of his power ; the empires remained ; but, the masters of Europe would consecrate the abdication of all *their* power, and royalty, order and the laws would remain, thenceforth, without property, as without an asylum, through the globe.

There is no treaty of *Ryswick* or of *Nimeguen* for opinion ; a revolution does not disarm ; for, its foldiers do not disband themselves : and, when a vast empire has become a camp, each cottage continues in it as a tent. Besides, the French revolution does not resemble any of those by which the world has been agitated. This displacement, unknown until the present times, of powers, of properties, and of all political opinions, whether religious or civil, is of such a nature, that we can no longer consider events as unfortunate, but the results which those events render daily more inevitable.

From one moment to another, the situation of

Europe becomes more alarming. It would prove as criminal as difficult, either to conceal or to remain silent concerning this predicament. Were it possible to imagine that the Committee of Public Safety would remain long in the possession of those rich countries which its soldiers, and the enfeebled sloth of the inhabitants have, doubtless, thrown open to their attainment; could those provinces which the sea has been obliged to yield to the most industrious, and Spain to the most courageous of men, once become the prey of the most abandoned miscreants; if the rivers were not obstacles, and if the winter itself were accompanied by no severity; if, in short, the most violent remedies were not employed with that activity of which guilt alone seems hitherto to have possessed the secret, it must boldly be remarked (for, once more, let me contend that silence would become an accomplice in the calamity) that the land would irrecoverably belong to crime and anarchy. Should anarchy and crime obtain a treaty of peace, the battle is eternal between government and the people. Even the military administration itself would fall under the ruins of feodality. The clergy, such as this body might then be, would disappear before their *Fetiches** and their destinies; for the system of

* *Fetiche* is a name ascribed by the natives of Guinea to their supposed divinities.—Each province and each family had its particular *Fetiche*: and these tutelary deities were, according to the fancy of their worshippers, trees, the head of a monk, birds, and other similar representations.

philosophizing, after having destroyed religion, necessarily brings back superstition. The nobility of all countries would no longer continue even an empty name; this nobility, which would have been found invincible in all times so much more enlightened, and particularly less obstinate, would have known how to have interwoven its interest with interests much more precious, much more true, than the barren vanity of those titles which are destroyed even by those ages that have consecrated their ostentation. In short, after two centuries of little states, and of little wars, of dungeons, and of towers, the treasures of an usurper, a great character, and particularly another religion, would again consolidate new powers and new monarchies. The name of France, the name of empire, the name of England, would, then, exist only as the name of Rome; and their territories, like those of the latter, would become the prey of the generation of conquerors.

We now touch at one of those epochs of Nature the memory of which, like that of the deluge, can only perish with the globe. Europe may avoid this epoch; if all the sovereigns, without becoming divided, and proving detrimental to each other, know how to avail themselves of the only moment which, at present, remains for their use.

The universe!—This is the word to be pronounced when we mention *the French Revolution*.

A salutary *terror*!—This is the greatest and most elevated thought for sovereigns ; this is the most formidable army ; this is the sole likelihood upon which the world, reduced to the brink of falling, can support itself.

It is by arming the French in favour of France, it is by dissipating their fears, and by heating those of all the states, it is by raising up the people against the Convention, that we can entertain any hope of bearing away from it all the French nation. At this day, necessity dictates these laws ; and we must either follow them or perish.

Under the present circumstances, I can point out what are the dangers of peace, and how it is possible to avoid it ; I will demonstrate the vast importance of continuing the war, and, more particularly, of changing its nature and its system.

There is an opinion as fatal to Europe as is the reverse of fortune of which it is the victim. It is this generally disseminated opinion, that the sovereigns have only to defend the cause of the House of Bourbon, and of the privileged bodies ; and that the interior government of France ought to remain indifferent, and, perhaps, quite foreign to the coalesced powers. It is precisely this error which the Jacobins, and the Convention entertain, with a degree of care equal to that which they employed to give it an existence. It preserves for them partizans, even in those classes where they desire only to find enemies : It sets aside all

resistance ; it blinds every interest, and prepares for the introduction of all murmurs. It is this error which pronounces the word of peace, by lavishing away expressions of regret in favour of a war where no points are rendered discernible, excepting the scourges of humanity, and the violence of injustice.

This perfidious art, by the succours of which anarchy struggles to occasion an insurrection of all the people against all the kings, has not ceased, even for a moment, to redouble its efforts ; it has endeavoured to corrupt Europe, when feeling itself too feeble for its subjection ; and seizing, as it were, upon that spirit of selfishness which appears to have been particularly reserved for the present age, it has, every where, separated obedience from interest, and patriotism from fidelity. It has indulged the hope, that revolts would serve them in the place of invasions, and that lassitude would bring over to them those allies of which, in consequence of their crimes, they should have been deprived.

As a fatal, but inevitable result of the ignorance of the people, and of the silence of governments, an equally blind prepossession has necessarily engendered this indifference, always incapable of important sacrifices, when an interest which seems foreign to it solicits its attention. It has produced this desire of peace which is, soon, become a new enemy to contend against ; and *this*, to such a degree, that the Jacobins, after

having persuaded the French that the powers of Europe were solely in arms for the purpose of conquering their territories, have, easily, made the people of Europe believe that they only drew the sword, and required all their resources, to replace a sovereign upon his throne, and to re-establish the aristocratic bodies in either their properties or their rights.

Without doubt, Europe took up arms to replace the House of Bourbon upon this throne, from whence she might, and certainly ought to have hindered it from descending: without doubt, the restoration of the proprietors is a consequence as just as necessary of this magnanimous design, and of these sublime efforts; and, whatsoever may have caused the silence of the powers coalesced for so generous a project, the more their adversaries refuse to ascribe to them the glory of it, the more it becomes impossible to avoid offering them the homage which they deserve. But, the cause of the House of Bourbon is rendered the cause of all the crowned heads, as the cause of the nobility and the clergy of France is made that of the proprietors of all the estates. Who is the sovereign that cannot find the most terrible lesson in the fate which the virtues of Louis the Sixteenth has experienced? Who is the cultivator who yet dares to exclaim: *my landed property!* when an assembly has arisen which has granted all to force, and no point to justice; which has made a

right of insurrection, and converted a paternal patrimony into a common and national property ? The salvation of France is inseparable from the salvation of Europe ; *it is the true Counter-revolution* : For this *Counter-revolution* is, of itself, only the preservation of social order ; and it is this which renders the most terrible but the most just of all wars necessary.

The whole property of Europe is, therefore, at this moment, attached to the fate of proscribed property : and the assignats which represent it are mortgaged upon the territories of all the powers. War ought to have been declared against France on the day when her assembly, usurping every right and consecrating every crime, threw upon the globe this paper which all nations will make use of in their turns. An able minister would not have failed, on this occasion, to have gone to war ; he would have known that Henry the Fourth could never have inhabited the Louvre if the league had felt occasion to blush for a *bishop of Autun*.

All these successive expropriations, which so many miscreants thought themselves justified in proceeding, with “ the Rights of Man ” in their hands ; all these maxims which ought to have proved their condemnatory sentence, and which are become the sentences against government, Europe has seen with that tranquility, and, perhaps, with that jealousy which, at this moment, is the price of

its repose and of its honour. Europe has suffered the missionaries to run through its kingdoms, the regicides to take refuge within them, and their paper to present itself for the purposes of commerce, liberty or seduction: and, now, we find that the victorious armies make this paper the currency of the conquered provinces. We discover men bending under the weight of crimes and of triumphs, who invoke, by the dangerous spectacle of their glorious impunity, the people to insurrection, the populace to sovereignty and calamity to good fortune!

It cannot be too often repeated that the assignats of the French Republic are mortgaged upon the property of the clergy, of the nobility and of all the cultivators of Europe. Europe will discount them, whether she receives or grants a peace; for, she will impart to them a free circulation, and the treaty will include a clause to this purpose. In the moment of acknowledging a sovereign, we are always obliged to acknowledge the sign of his riches; and, when we treat with a Revolution, it is that Revolution which commands: our business is only to obey.

The Rights of Man are become the seeds of all the Revolutions, and the means of these are the assignats. Whensoever sedition shall break out, it will proclaim the one and make use of the others. There is no public fortune, there is no royal credit which can flatter itself with the power

of acting as an equipoise against this immense resource. Perhaps, Europe herself is not sufficiently rich to become as poor as France ; and, probably, she is not sufficiently strong to entertain a hope of feeling such a degree of weakness. France has dissipated the capital of her territories ; but, it is this capital which she is on the point of demanding again from Europe : it is by absorbing all its specie, granting that we should declare peace, that the Convention will preserve every means of waging war against Europe.

Each nation, therefore, as well as each sovereign, is called upon to this battle of anarchy against the laws, and of robbery against properties. Liberty, which the people always place within a change of government, now only presents itself as laden with spoils and eager for proscriptions. All those who are threatened by a similar benefit, have no longer any hope to preserve, and can only oppose to it their intrepidity : for, if the Convention be acknowledged, all the monarchies are without masters, and all the governments without laws.

This assembly, whom the *Japonesse* despotism and *Tiberius* himself would have accused of tyranny, at this moment, threatens the powers to put an end to vengeance and to crimes. It meditates the tranquility of France, and it endeavours to deprive the allies of those generous partizans whom they, as yet, possess. They are on the

point of passing irrecoverably over to the side of the Republic, if, at the conclusion of some great effort, or, in other words, of some signal success, the allies do not, at length, publicly proclaim those dispositions which redound to their honour, and those motives by which they are animated.

The Convention desires peace for the purpose of giving it to France, and of taking it away from Europe. The emissaries wait only for an ambassador, to spread themselves over the globe, and to reunite themselves, in every quarter, to the clubs established within the empires; for, there are but very few families where the *Jacobins* have not either placed an accomplice, or prepared a guilty assistant. The French Revolution, which has occasioned a revolution in each house, in France, flatters itself with the hope of obtaining the same success within all the monarchies. It has occasioned an universal circulation of the poison which is to propagate this success; it has striven to insinuate, within every mind, those democratic principles which support it, and it has even consented to an abhorrence of the *Jacobins*, provided that it does not root out an adoration of their maxims.

If it be within the councils of princes, that the greatest enemies of Royalty are frequently discoverable, they place themselves, at this moment, in the rank of subjects, that they may soon cease

to continue subjects. They weaken all the passions, and from the borders of the Sprée as far as the South Seas, they submit the honour and the life of one portion of the society to the disposal of the other. Who can entertain a doubt but that each man of the people would feel an ambition to attain to this new situation, and that he would not soon second a revolution, which might promise him the enjoyment of it? It would argue an ignorance of the human heart, were we to reckon upon the prevalence of its virtue against the weight of its ambition. A lover of independence, man is naturally inclined to sacrifice to it even his welfare; and the example of success being completed, too often leads astray the powers of his reason. Who can doubt, that peace would not facilitate these means for the *Jacobins*, and that it would not secure, in favour of the guilty, this first impunity which emboldens even to a degree of weakness? Who can conceive it questionable, that the factious, the rebellious, and the discontented of every state, rallying in secret around the Committee of Public Safety, would not impatiently expect either its support, or peace? The more the Convention desires it, and the more it warns the powers that they must refuse to it this peace, it is so happily impossible, at the present moment, that, perhaps, as many efforts are necessary to grant it with dignity as to contend against it with courage.

Who is the sovereign so disdainful of his glory as to receive this Ambassador, this Regicide, who might come to insult the manes of Louis, in the name of his Republic, and impose upon him the ratification of such a multitude of crimes? Who is the monarch so much an enemy to his own blood as to abdicate his sovereignty into the reeking hands of the enemy of one of the first monarchs in the world? Who is the statesman that would dare to betray the political and moral system of Europe, by placing within it that power which has sworn to accomplish its destruction?—It would prove an outrage against sovereigns, were any man to rest, for even a single moment, upon the possibility of a similar transaction! In vain would their enemies search for examples, in favour of either such a weakness, or so shameful a procedure: even history would refuse to come forward with any precedent. The kings of the earth received the ambassadors of the *Romans*; but, the kings of the earth were, at that period, the slaves of *Rome*! *Cromwell* had, also, *his* Ambassadors; but, the more his crime was flagrant, the more he felt the necessity of rendering his authority respectable and sacred! He encompassed himself, with all the powers of the monarchy, against the monarch whom he had just assassinated; and, by crushing the people under the weight of his authority, he only left them the shame of the guilt, the price

of which he dared to offer to the public tranquillity. The United States of North America conquered sovereignty; but, the more their efforts were, at the outset, seditious, the more they strove to cover their rebellion, by promising to treat government with respect, and by securing the rights of property!

No! there is not a single sovereign, there is not a single statesman, or administrator, who can, at this point, despair either of fortune or of the public conscience! No! the Committee of Public Safety will not obtain it; they will not enjoy this peace which they desire! And this *Germany*, which emancipated the *Gauls* and the universe; this *Germany*, where we have found our institutions and our laws; this new kingdom, where *FREDERICK* elevated to such a height the majesty of monarchs, where we perceive the inheritor, of his glory sustaining, with equal dignity and perseverance, the fatigue of camps and the reverse of war; this *Great Britain* which preferred the honour of assisting *Henry the Fourth* to the facility of seizing upon his spoils, will replace his descendants upon that throne which is responsible to Europe for all her thrones and all her treaties.

But, with whom, then, shall we conclude this peace or this truce? Shall we negotiate for it with these Bashaws of the Republic, whom they call the *Representatives of the People*; with those *Pro-*

consuls of anarchy, who equally make an ill use of the servitude and of the sovereignty of the Convention? Shall we treat with this Committee of Public Safety, the members of which enact the laws, execute and punish; but, who, being the tyrants of their equals, sink, soon again, into the rank of their slaves? Shall we apply to this National Convention itself, which, although to-day invested with sovereign power, may, tomorrow, become dethroned by either a Congress or a Senate, which will no more fulfill its promises than it will execute its laws? Amidst every counterfeit authority, contracting parties may occur; but, we shall prove unable to discover either guarantees, or good faith, or security.

Should it prove difficult to procure a peace, it will become impossible to obtain an adherence to its articles: For, it must either be a reciprocal advantage, or an extreme imbecility which could render a treaty secure; and, what can be offered to the Convention of which it has not a flattering expectation of being soon possessed? Would the dismemberment of France, at which her enemies are, daily, struggling, prove the means of persuading the people that its consent to peace would be acquired? Ah! if the belligerent powers were to experience the unfortunate accomplishment of *such* a kind of success; were they to indulge this blind ambition which consumes its future prospects, and which only the

tongue of slander could have imputed to them, they must expose themselves to ruinous wars for the purpose of preserving those provinces which would be, soon, snatched from their dominion. That national pride, which forms monarchies as it does republics, should never be, for even a single moment, an object of their pursuit. It is the Ocean and the Mediterranean; it is the genius of *Vauban*, and the glory of *Louis XIV.* it is the *Alps*; it is the *Pyrennees*, which are to separate France and to join her to Europe; which are to circumscribe and to compose her territory. The tranquility of the world is placed within these limits. Neither is it by abetting the dismemberment of France, that the allies can augment their power. The conquest of a part of her possessions would take away from a government sufficiently adventurous to attempt this conquest, much more in point of relative power, than it would procure for it in the article of real power.

Admitting, even, that the National Convention were to offer up, in favour of peace, or, in other words, for the sake of yielding to the expediency for establishing a government, the sacrifices of those possessions which belong to another world, it is an incontestable truth that, previously to the expiration of five years, they would be, again, loudly reclaimed. The preparatives for war, which these procedures must,

then, excite, would be all made, because, the Revolution need only collect its forces on board its ships; and it would not have forgotten, that a fertile empire, washed by the ocean on every side, is sure of enjoying a formidable marine, under a vigorous government.

The sole mean, therefore, to warrant any hope of obtaining some moments of peace with the French republic, would be to restore to it all its territory; and, then, of what avail would prove this peace, were the allied powers not to derive from it that *security* and that *preservation* which ought to be not alone its object, but its absolute guarantee? In vain would the Convention declare that it renounced all conquests, and that it would not trouble authority in the exercise of its rights, or obedience in the performance of its duties. In vain would it repel, with every sincere effort, the wishes which it had obliged the people to form in favour of independence and of anarchy. Where-soever no virtue reigns, there no security can exist; and perfidy is a weapon which the Convention will never throw away. The sovereigns may, indeed, withdraw their troops to a distance; but, pretexts would, incessantly, arise in favour of injustice; for, not to the Convention would it be the most important consideration to abstain from perjury.

But, the Convention inclines to peace, because the revolutionary system, which has consolidated

its power, must, at length, prove its destruction, should victories, like defeats, exact, without relaxation, requisitions, and punishments; should the people never enjoy that repose with which they were perpetually amused; and should fresh sacrifices incessantly prepare new causes for regret. The Convention desires peace, because it dreads this spirit of discontent, which is the necessary effect of its tyranny: in fact, not a single deputy exists, who does not consider the truce as the pledge of his individual security; and what the members of the Convention, in the aggregate, flatter themselves that they shall experience from it is, the exercise of their sovereignty with impunity. “*We will restore all our conquests,*” was, in the month of January, 1793, the unanimous cry of *Brissot* and *Robespierre*, of *Chabot*, and of *Roland*.—“*We will restore Savoy, and the Belgic Provinces; it is the territory of France, and its National Assembly, which we are desirous of keeping and preserving.*”—*Barrere* said, in the month of April last, “*It is our safety which Europe ought to secure to us, at the expence of its own, should she force us to reap fresh successes; and all the people would then partake of them; and, then, likewise, should we keep our conquests.*” Now, this man, who has invented a new species of baseness, dared to add, in the same breath: “*The Allies have committed more errors, than they have undergone defeats.*” Such is the secret of the Convention; but, such,

also, is the fate with which they threaten Europe.

This Assembly, which has enacted laws, only for the purpose of finding either accomplices or criminals, and which has confounded, in one single word, tyranny, freedom, and anarchy; this Assembly is on the point of changing its civil laws; for all its political relations are going to experience a metamorphosis. But, we should deceive ourselves most grossly, were we to imagine, that the love of the Republic had, even for a moment, seduced away the French: the Convention, working through the influence of conquests, has only obliged them not to detest it as much as they would have done otherwise; the present generation must have perceived crimes; that which is to replace them, will observe only successes.

Should the Assembly, which is to succeed the Convention, pay the debts of the state; should it promulgate a law for the division of land; or, should it only give a portion of these lands to each citizen (and these two measures, which are in the contemplation of the Committee of Public Safety, will be the necessary effect of peace) what society in Europe ought not to tremble at seeing so alluring a bait thrown out to its respective members? The Convention has, already, made way for the division of lands, by the law of adoption; a law ridiculous, as far as it respects our

morals, but infinitely more dangerous, as not appearing to press directly forward to its apparently proposed end. The decrees concerning equality, all those speculative truths, for the application of which the people will look to property, because they have not another theory for their guide ; divorce, and the projected reduction of all fortunes ; new laws respecting gifts and testamentary bequests ; that education, in short, which even the most virtuous man is compelled to give his son : these are the dangers to which peace, far from preventing their influence, must, on the contrary, impart a greater degree of power and extent.

Education, which is so essential a portion of governments, and which ought perpetually to continue interwoven with their principles, education has been dexterously seized upon by the Convention, and they have neglected no means whatever, for the purpose of rendering it formidable to Europe. So thoroughly does their vigilant attention, in this particular point, draw after it all the effects of tyranny, that even the parent who is the most attached to monarchy, becomes forced to fill the mind of his son with republican principles. To little purpose could monarchy take refuge amidst her interior establishments, because the love which infancy there clandestinely imbibes for royalty is immediately destroyed, by impressions from without. Kings

are described to youth as the enemies of their country ; and it is at the feet of the statues of *Brutus* and of *Mutius Scævola*, that they compel them to swear, that they will make the example of these *Romans* the object of their imitation.

The generation which is to invade and to destroy Europe has now reached the twelfth year of its age ; it was born in the very midst of a revolution ; it has seen all the epocha of this revolution ; it has inhaled all its principles, and it has sucked in every poison by which it was infected. Daily does the hatred which this generation has conceived against kings increase ; daily does its love for a republic experience an augmentation ; it has not cast its eyes upon the monarchy, for, the monarchy had expired when this generation first started into birth ; it has only just glanced at it for the purpose of insulting it, being, as yet, too feeble to give it battle. Too miserable lot of infancy ! this age is intirely within the power of its first guides ; and it is not alone its imbecility, but even its innocence, which delivers it up either to error or to criminality ! Infancy will never learn in France, that the government of a single person is that which promises to mankind the most abundant portion of welfare and of peace ; it will have drawn in anarchy with its early breath ; it will have grown with equality ; it will have followed a *triumph* ; then, it must have the world before

it; for, its inclinations are to reduce it to subjection.

Where is the treaty of peace which can constrain this rising generation to renounce so horrible a conquest? We must vanquish it, we must enlighten it, and we must render it happy, in order that we may cease from contemplating it with apprehensions. Should the necessity of establishing so great an advantage be left to the Convention, we shall have reason to tremble, lest, after having rendered the French so formidable, after having given to them all the plagues of liberty, the Convention should occasion them to taste the charms of slavery: then, will it be forced to relinquish to it the spoils of the world; for, we must, with the people, be during a long time prosperous, unless we desire to be soon culpable. To the people, virtue is in fortune, fidelity in success; nor are they brought to reason but by supplying them with abundance.

The government of France, therefore, would be obliged to conquer, both for its own particular security, and even in consequence of the nature of those principles of liberty which its people may have imbibed; and, in proportion to the diminishing degree in which they may enjoy this freedom, will they endeavour to disturb the freedom of their neighbours. This will not prove repose, but anarchy; this will not be equality,

but despotism, which will force them to embrace ; and, more zealously affected to the dethronement of kings, than to the creation of republics, they would, in all quarters, favour licentiousness, and, in all quarters, protect sedition. Europe would have no governments ; for, she is too corrupted to preserve republics. These are formed by virtues and by poverty ; and riches and corruption accomplish their destruction. Rome drove away the *Tarquins*, and Rome resumed her freedom ; the capital of the world beheld its master assassinated, and sixteen emperors murdered ; yet, it remained enslaved, because liberty and corruption never met together.

Besides, luxury unavoidably leads to national troubles. Introduced within the states, it prepares their debility, by the devouring thirst of self-interestedness, and by a contempt for public spirit, and for all principle. Its habitude frequently renders the means of sustaining it indifferent ; and it almost constantly occasions the laws which are brought forward against its influence to become useless. It drags after it, in its train, that decay of public morals, from whence originates a forgetfulness of all duties, and a rejection of all obedience. Then is it that self-interestedness becomes the more unfeeling, and luxury the more insatiable ; and when these are seconded by corruption, they bring forward

those revolutions by which empires are converted into theatres of bloodshed: for, they dash to pieces all the means of their preservation, by keeping aloof all those who constituted their power and their prosperity.

When once a people ceases to esteem, it is on the point of ceasing to obey; and, so, of all the dangers which a sovereign has the most cause to fear, the greatest is that of debasing himself; and he *does* debase himself, when he separates his own dignity from the dignity of the throne. When a people have betrayed its God, and proscribed its religion, it no longer suffers the neighbouring states to preserve *their* religion. Its agitators are too perfectly aware of the resisting power of a curb so sacred, not to demolish it within the hands of that government which it suits them to overthrow; for, if religion prove so frequently the cause of troubles, it is, also, religion alone which can appease these troubles.

All, therefore, will conspire in favour of the French: as much the impetuosity of this character, which has never been sufficiently dreaded, and those morals, the infancy, the vanity, and the inconstancy of which, have been so slightly despised, as those seducing maxims of sovereignty, and of property, which a treaty of peace would place within the grasp of all the people. The people will seek for liberty in guilt; but, this liberty will prove, as is generally the case,

solely the servitude of the greater number ; and, therefore, the people will experience only the inconveniences of a popular government.

The Deputies of the Convention exercise their judgment with too much penetration to incline them to wish for a republic ; and many have not hesitated to admit, that France could not become a republic until subsequently to her return, through a state of barbarism, to simplicity of manners. Much nearer to the people than to the laws, and sedulously endeavouring to avoid the dangers with which these threaten to encompass them, they want to conceal monarchy under republican forms, to stamp it even with this mark, were a victory to consolidate their power, and to avoid that absolute government by which sedition and civil wars are accompanied ; for, it is thus that the eternal nature of things requires that they should proceed. Surrounded by triumphs and by spectacles, they, daily, draw near to that fœderative government of which the chief will enjoy the power, because a great respect will be attributed to him, and the laws of which will devise, for the French character, what they would not dare to prescribe to it, as a test of obedience. Either an inefficacious campaign or a peace might establish this government ; but, the nature of the principles which it must, of course, contain will (let me repeat this truth) prove such, that we must relinquish to

them Europe; and Europe will change its complexion.

At this moment, whatsoever may be the power of the Convention, it is not yet securely sheltered from a reverse of fortune; tyranny pervades the interior part; but, liberty is on the frontiers; France, indeed, obeys; but, the army has not yet passed under the yoke. The legislative body, convinced that, should the war continue, it is from the very midst of the army that the master of France must issue, has been obliged to command it in person, and the generals are become the lieutenants of the representatives of the people. Thus, no general could, hitherto, have obtained, without danger, either the admiration or the attachment of his soldiers; and he must have felt reason to dread as much from being the object of their love, as from incurring their hatred: and, upon this ground, also, have the Committee of Safety just coined a terrible expression: “ *the French World*;” and this phrase will, perhaps, leave the army to the Convention; but, then, it delivers Europe up to the army.

It is vain, that *Tallien*, and the party who set him up, suffer terror to draw breath, and, thus, turn popularity to unbecoming uses; it is vain, that moderate individuals seek for a security in either their weakness or their fears; *Tallien* will soon become guilty of that which he was forced

to promise. A not exceedingly considerable defeat, or an interior commotion, excited even by the continuation of the war, will occasion him to experience the terrible necessity of that revolutionary system which destroys whilst it governs, and which crushes from the moment that it ceases to protect; of that system which admits of neither justice, nor clemency nor remorse. But, this party has, in its favour, the object of peace; it possesses a still more fortunate chance, were it endued with talents accurately to appreciate it, and with force to seize upon it and convert it to its own uses. At the present moment, the advantage-ground of *Tallien* should be so considerable, that this very circumstance must intimidate and destroy him, if he has suffered a single instant to have escaped from him disregarded. Should the *faction* of the moderates meet with an exterior resistance, should it either avoid events, or allow them to fly away unnoticed, it is judged and condemned. In vain would it invoke a new assembly which, less burthened with crimes, although equally emulous of committing them, than that which it must soon judge, might dare to present itself before Europe with an hypocritical affectation of its virtue: this false moderation would bring forth solely its own misfortunes. But, so long as each sitting of the Convention shall remain confined within the recital of its

conquests, so long as the standards of victory shall wave over the heads of its members, so long, especially, as new nations shall come intriguingly to solicit for the title of *allies*, the Convention will have less reason to fear for its duration, its laws, and its acts of injustice. It will heap outrages upon the sovereigns within the theatres, and it will as lavishly grant properties to the *Sans-culotes*, that they may defend its palace. As much as civil war would occasion the bursting forth of domestic discontents, so much would a foreign war fatigue the people and provoke them to despair, were defeats and victories to maintain an equal balance ; but, should the war support itself only by evacuations and losses, it would leave to the Convention a dominion over all its slaves ; were the Convention to draw back, at its pleasure, the frontiers of France, it would equally depend upon its pleasure to have no successor ; to have no associate. It is, therefore, by countenancing a civil war, and by giving to a foreign war a less disastrous effect ; it is by thus refusing peace to the Convention, and by promising it to the French people, that we can indulge the hope of perceiving this people turn their despair against the National Convention.

It is in consequence of peace, that all the dangers with which the Convention is threatened will throw every object out of the view, except its

power and its glory : it is in consequence of peace, that the perils with which it menaces the powers of Europe will inevitably overtake them. Thoroughly to know their extent, we must feel a positive conviction that the *Jacobins* have their enemies in all quarters ; that these emissaries have, every where, instituted assemblies which conspire in silence, and plot together in the hour of darkness ; that their correspondence with this society, which may be forced to change its name, but not its principles, is always active, and unremittedly continuing ; and that its democratic principles, which are the epidemical malady of self love, glide into every heart, and penetrate through all the states. Let us attend, but for a moment, to this general lottery of crimes set up for all people ; to those fatal urns from which misery issues full of riches, and crime arises in all the strength of power ; let us mark the Convention consecrating these maxims of common property and of individual liberty ; stigmatizing as usurpers even the kings with whom it will treat as sovereigns ; raising up that generation which is to prove their enemy ; engrossing all the properties which guilt has confiscated to itself, in France ; invoking a political religion which either ordains or tolerates robbery ; and either receiving from the hands of false philosophy, or representing as having descended from Heaven, the tutelar deities of rebellion and of anarchy : after all this, let peace be

signed; and, *here*, is the government which will have been acknowledged, and the benefits which it will have spread over the universe.

In fact, there is no government which can flatter itself with the hope of resisting these principles, and even its blindness could only serve to render an opposition against them the more feeble. Too fatally relying upon either its distance or its laws, in vain would the best regulated state implore for the observance of the faith of a treaty, or of an inviolable guarantee. In vain, would the other universe, issuing, in the present age, from the very midst of chaos, and fortified by the genius of its Creator, and the glory of its Sovereign, despise a danger which is to strike at such a number of regions, before it threatens to lift an arm against the existence of its own dominion. *Liberty and Equality* reigning unpunished, and even acknowledged, will extend themselves to the Poles; and they will possess the fleetness of the winds, because they are congenial with their violence: the National Convention, encompassed by daggers and by laws, will advance, brandishing the thunderbolt, scattering destruction through every quarter, and, like the convulsive motions of an earthquake, raising cities to the ground, extirpating kingdoms, and disfiguring the whole face of Nature.

We may, perhaps, amuse ourselves with the too flattering idea, we may indulge a deceitful

hope that peace, by leading back into their own country the French armies, who have now spread themselves over Europe, will inspire them with a spirit of activity, of independence, and of national pride which, in its effect, must prove formidable to the Convention: we may nourish an expectation that factions, springing up in the midst of conquests, and of the *gratitude* of the Republic, will, there, soon excite civil dissensions, and destroy its government. To imagine *this*, would argue an ignorance of the French Revolution, and, more particularly, of the French; it must prove the entertainment of an hope as fatal as the defeats which would have rendered it necessary. Doubtless, factions will agitate France; but, not to mention the property secured for the support either of authority or of tyranny, and lands granted to victorious soldiers, all these plebeians exalted into patricians, and their families haughtily elated with this political and civil existence, the charms of which they have experienced opportunities of enjoying in too unlimited an abundance, will assist parties, will favourably listen to the voice of an ambitious individual; nay, more; they will positively rally around an assembly which shall open to them all its treasures, and gratify them by a profusion of public spectacles. All which can happen of the most affecting nature under such a concurrence of circumstances, would be the convocation of a new assembly,

which would either accede to demands that would not invalidate its power, or declare war for the purposes of its re-establishment: for, such is the nature of *Sans-culotism* that, in this case, the whole of Europe must be given up to it, in order to preserve France.

The French revolution is founded upon such violent principles, that the expropriation which sustains it ought to serve as its consolidation, or, in other words, at its extension. It is the fire which becomes more actively spreading in consequence of accumulated fuel. The more the government which may be established in France shall preserve its tranquility inviolate, the more eager will it prove to direct its attacks against the repose of Europe. Let it not be imagined that it can want pretexts as excuses for its perfidy; for, we shall again contend that a treaty of peace with the Convention would be of such a nature, and the powers who might consent to it would find themselves involved within so difficult a predicament, that they must feel the necessity of promising what they could not fulfil; and the Convention would only experience an embarrassment in choosing, amidst the number of motives which it would consider as justifying a declaration of war. These motives might be imputed to the case of a *Pre-tender*, to too generous a compassion, or too conspicuous an asylum; to secret articles, or to public reports; - to discovered treasons, or to projected

conspiracies; to new allies, or to fresh domestic alliances. Were the Romans ever in want of reasons for waging war against those kings whom they considered it as their interest to attack? And, would not the Convention imitate their example, in either seizing upon or preserving the different states? would it not, unremittedly, either merit the title of their allies, or expose itself to the vengeance of their arms?

The conquests of the French republic! these conquests which affright the imagination, and astonish even the vanquishers, plunge the French nation into such an intoxication, that it admits of no comparison, except with the terror of Europe. One may judge of the excess which such a vanity might add to the vanity of this people, against whom it was decreed, by the senate of Rome, that even the priests should not be excused from marching, when they prepared for an invasion of their territory! against this people, who obliged the Romans to keep under arms a complete military establishment of twelve hundred thousand men, to shut them out from all access to Italy; and who, in the very heart of their capital, exclaimed, whensoever, they signed a treaty: (*Vae victis!*) *Woe to the vanquished!*

These conquests of the French are, at this moment, so component a portion of their sovereignty, that there is no *citizen* who can feel that he is a man without thoroughly perceiving that he

was born a Frenchman. Let the allied powers, therefore, thus perceiving the dangers which they run, on account of having suffered such a people to establish themselves near their dominions, judge of the nature of the peril by which they are threatened, should the French become irresistibly strengthened, as it were, into a new and settled empire. Let them reflect upon the humiliations to which the overbearing pride of such a people would condemn those sovereigns who might lay their arms at their feet. Let them rivet, for a moment, their attention upon this pantheon, where the images of conquered kings would, incessantly, attract the eyes of their vanquishers; let them, within the theatres which are consecrated to victory, hearken to those new orators of the people who will declaim only concerning their power and their rights; and, so, putting, if it be possible, a force upon their imagination, that they may not shrink back from the view of so many crimes, let them, for an instant, survey that spot where the French nation would conceive that they were celebrating *the first day of their independence*, and load with civic crowns those representatives who commanded them to give a loose to assassinations and to conflagrations. Let them there behold the *first Roman triumph* perpetuating the disgrace of Europe; all the tributary arts of all the crimes, and the same bronze which had spread itself into the resembling lineaments of a great monarch

converted into the fetters forged for sovereigns. These statues are fallen; these monuments of the gratitude and of the loyalty of the French towards their kings have served as victims to ambition and to revolt: these sacred heads were trodden underfoot; these august images were mutilated, as if each stroke could have inflicted a wound, could have spilt the blood of a monarch, whose virtues they had consecrated: and it is upon *their* ruins, it is even upon the pedestal of monarchy that *French Liberty* has hallowed the violation of every right whatever! It is in the same palace, where they had the audacity to judge their king, that they dare to remain for the purpose of giving audience to the ambassadors of all the kings of Europe!

We have traced out what are the obstacles which make peace difficult, and what the impediments which render an adherence to it impossible. We shall, now, inquire concerning the resources which the war offers.

War would not present to us dangers less great and alarming than those of peace; and it would, itself, become more fatal were it not to experience a change in its complexion and its conduct. Those victories, with the rapidity of which it is not easy for the pen that is to record them to keep pace, impart to the Convention more animated life and fresher means; they inspire that public spirit which, previously to the lapse of the last four

months, was plunged in terrors and despair, with so powerful an energy that, henceforth, temerity, as far as it could respect the French, must lose its name; they fill them with such confidence in the character and in the resources of their deputies, that, perhaps, these last are on the point of becoming their representatives. Wearied by triumphs, the French nation will, soon, lose all hope of witnessing the success of the coalesced powers, and the horror of the atrocities which the revolution engendered will diminish in the same affrightening proportion.

Robespierre is, already, descended into the grave, covered with the public hatred. He carries with him the crimes of the assembly which he subdued, and it is by writing his history that his accomplices flatter themselves that they shall find excuses for their tyranny. The people will lay every guilt to the charge of that single man, whom all considered as formidable; and, in blackening his memory to after ages, the Convention will believe that they can draw out of such an aspersions a pardon for its crimes; for, great successes always occasion the people to forget guilt; and victory, according to their idea, stands in the place of justice.

It is, unfortunately, true that the system adopted by the allied powers, and the mode in which France has been attacked from without, and succoured within, are equally faulty, and must, pre-

cifely, have produced the effect under which Europe, now, suffers. It is not force, it is not courage, it is not success which, at the outset, fought against the allies; it was the allies themselves who became the occasion of the fortune, the valour, and the power of the Convention: *their* faults and *their* disasters have taught it neither to commit the former nor to dread the last.

Not defeats but victories bring losses to the allies. It is the unfavourable successes which they acquire, the manner in which they obtain them, and, particularly, the use to which they apply them that plunges their affairs into that deplorable state wherein they are, now, lying. On the contrary, it is these defeats which have given to that assembly, which France repels from her bosom, that intrepidity which astonishes and that activity, by which it, frequently, is compensated. This assembly has discovered that, when the sword is drawn in the support of a Revolution, no victory can prove a ground for confidence, unless not a single victory remains to be acquired; and, leaving to the generals of its enemies the dangerous glory of losing battles, by dint of military talents, it has opposed temerity to prudence, and success to honour. It has availed itself of licentiousness against discipline, and of fanaticism against reason. It has turned, efficaciously, to its own purposes the advantage of arming all the passions against those enemies who resisted it only by the

regularity of warlike operations ; and, never committing any error in politics, or, in other words, never running against it, circumstances has shewn neither indecisions in its plans, nor weakness in the execution, nor inquietude concerning the success. It has not exposed, for a single moment, the public safety ; and, whilst all the French nation, either stricken with terror, or filled with hopes, beheld the Allies at *Peronne*, the Convention merely avowed its force, and shewed only its resources. The same assembly which had proclaimed the Republic in the presence of those armies who called upon it for a monarchy, under the very walls of the capital, sold the camp of *Hannibal*, and left the French people exclusively to the joy of enclosing their enemies within the heart of France. The man trembled, but, the deputy manifested no emotion, save that of valour. The Committees prepared, in silence, for the departure of the Convention ; but, the Convention declared itself inseparable from the people, and shewed itself superior to events. It despatched couriers to make the necessary preparations, in case of its flight, and it sent generals to carry on the war within the provinces of its enemies. Thus, by never yielding to fortune, it, probably, obliged fortune to adhere to it as the object of her fidelity.

In fact, the military history offers to our attention but few examples similar to that active pre-

fence of mind with which the Committee of Public Safety transported the theatre of war to the territory of the enemy. It repeated in *Flanders* what it had so fortunately executed in *Alsace*; and, gathering strength from the effeminacy of Europe, from the presumption of some men, from the lukewarmness of several others, and from the ignorance in which the European Powers were kept respecting the nature and the resources of the Revolution, the barbarians of France, have united with all the advantages of a national war, a superiority of spirit, activity and conduct. The powers of Europe, in consequence of their forgetfulness, that, throughout all ages, numbers and enthusiasm have subdued methodised plans and tactics, neglected to raise and to arm their people in one mass; and, placing all their strongest dependence upon the troops of the line, they have suffered defeats to discourage the people, and the lower orders to arrange themselves on the side of the conquerors.

Terror had sunk the French nation into slavery; and, victory will end by delivering up their obedience to the Convention. These people, by submitting themselves to triumphs, will offer the glory resulting from them to all people. “ *Only some successes more, and Europe would have been at the feet of the Septembriseurs**,” exclaimed, over the ruins of *Valenciennes*, the greatest investigator of public rights (if we may use the expression) of the

* The assassins, during the horrible *September* massacre.

present age*; the only man who has brought the public into a just train of thinking. And, it was in the midst of these accents of victory, that he announced the ruin of Europe ! So much did this profound observer dread the advantages which were not prepared by sound politics and by power ; so much did he fear the consequences of a war without passions, and of a cause without enthusiasm ; so thoroughly was he persuaded that a false system would soon lead to the destruction of those by whom it was supported !

Previously to the examination of the operations which may be opposed to the French Republic, it is necessary to attend not only to that spirit which either directs or animates its armies, but to that, likewise, which either governs, or is silently inactive in its several departments. From this investigation it should appear what the Convention may have to dread, and what to hope from those measures which it may be constrained either to pursue or to abandon.

The army which is entirely separated from the government under which France suffers, having, as it were, a monarchical code, and being freed from nearly all the laws which govern it, is, necessarily, in contradiction to the principles of the Convention. For, every army begins by having a chief, and, it must end by having a master. It desires, it demands a master ; and, it is upon this invariable spirit, which may be styled the very

* *M. Mallet Du Pan.*

principle of an army, that its discipline and its force are founded; yet, this is the principle which renders an army as dangerous within as it is necessary without. On this account, have all Republics taken the greatest care to disband their military powers as soon as ever the circumstances in which they were engaged allowed of such a procedure. For this reason, likewise, have they constantly endeavoured to render the duration of a dictatorship as short as the danger of its existence. Whensoever that period arrived, at which, during a long time, citizens could command their equals, and generals gain over the attachment of their troops, they subdued their government, and became the masters of it.

The Convention, positively convinced of this truth, which adheres even to the nature of things, obliged to introduce a strict discipline amidst its armies, and to leave the soldiery in the full exercise of that revolutionary spirit which constitutes the fulness of their power, has placed all its great officers under the inspection of its representatives. Fulfilling, with a blind obedience, all its orders, separated from their soldiers, even in the very midst of their camp, strangers to their own inclinations, the French generals are more likely to become the victims of a success than of a defeat, and to perish in consequence of a triumph rather than by a denunciation. This vigilant inspection, which never sleeps, renders the repentance of a general useless; and the defection of

his army almost impossible. Yet, the army, perpetually leaning to their chief, and, constantly more on the point of despising than of respecting the civil authority, does not suffer the Convention to alluage its fears, even for a single moment; it leaves it no more security, after a victory, than after a defeat; it puts it equally in dread of its elated pride, and of its discouragement; and, then, is it that this legislative authority seeks, in other quarters, for that spring which is to impart a more animated motion to its army, and, that it avails itself of its fanaticism to conquer, and even of its thirst of glory to constrain it to obey.

As it deserves to be estimated, so does the army judge of the Convention; the army despises it; the army shudders at the recital of its assassinations; and not less does it blush with shame when observing those divisions which, incessantly, bring to their recollection who are the masters from whom it receives its pay. But, the army beholds all these divisions without feeling their influence, and even without participating of the interest which arises from their predominance. *Marius* and *Sylla* covered *Rome* with proscriptions, whilst the Roman armies completed the conquest of the world. The Committee of Public Safety has so effectually persuaded its soldiers that the foreign powers meant to invade their territory for the purpose of effectuating its dismemberment;

and it has so unfairly, through the influence of this calumny, availed itself of those events which are almost perpetually inevitable amidst the calamities of a long war, that the Convention is become, in the opinion of the army, the assembly which must preserve undiminished and unimpaired the territories of the French.

An individual is forcibly put in requisition; is snatched away from the heart of his country, where he implored the succours against which he is ordered to contend; he loved the allied powers; he draws himself towards the frontiers; there, he discovers calumny, or, in other words, public spirit; he detests and he opposes them. Within his own district, he was unfortunate, and a slave; he supposes himself free, and he finds that he is a Frenchman in the presence of the enemy. This fatal ignorance wherein he is left of the lot which is reserved for the fidelity of his desertion; this occasion for repenting, which he is induced to fear that he could not offer to the French, whose absence, or whose misfortunes include the whole of what falls within his knowledge; this incertitude concerning the dispositions of the coalesced powers; that invincible repugnance, at being considered as no more than a stranger, whilst he is engaged in their service; that noble pride arising from the consciousness of belonging to a great empire; his past renown and his present strength; that indignant emotion which must have filled

his breast when he observed those troops draw back, which had been considered as invincible ; all induce him not to betray either that which he deems his country, or that which he is obliged to call his glory.

The cause of a French soldier is bad, but, they persuade him that the honour of his country is confided to his care ; he despises the Convention, but, it forces him to obey the powers. Still more unfortunate, as no where finding his officers, his princes and his king, the French soldier is the servant of the Republic, because he cannot belong to the monarchy. Yes ! the French army would be the royal army, were not the means taken to engage it to become such the very method to hinder the accomplishment of this design. It has not, therefore, proved evident that it is decidedly those soldiers who shed their blood, because they have been taught to dread an invasion of their territories ; these persons who will be neither Austrians, nor English, but Frenchmen, who would have become the best troops in the service of the coalition ! Even their repugnance against the dismemberment of France must be considered as an earnest for their accomplishment of the conquest of it. Their just contempt for the Convention operated as a pledge for their not making any ill use of their victory.

The French army, in a state of widowhood, as it were, for such a length of time, after the loss

of its princes, wanted to fear them soon, that they might have them, always. They wished to have France for their country, and they had fixed upon themselves as its deliverers ; so much did they feel their dignity, and so great was their consciousness of their honour and of their powers. It was this army which exclaimed at *Crecy* . . . “ *We are conquered ; but, France is not vanquished.*” It was this army which cried out, at *Bovines*: “ *Never will we suffer the inheritance of our master to become curtailed.*”

When a nation has possessed its *Charlemagne*, its *Henry IV.* and, its *Louis XIV.* when it has enjoyed its *Turenne*, its *Luxembourg*, and its *Condè*, it *will* have its chiefs taken from its own bosom ; nor does it search elsewhere for masters. Men do not, in a single day, conspire treacherously against fourteen centuries of country or of glory ; neither, at any period, do they become auxiliaries in their own cause. The soldiers of the Republic never had a country, in a truer sense of the expression, than when they were persuaded, with as much perfidy as address, that it was to be conquered for them. Happy the monarch whose children, whose subjects shall bring him, as a tribute, this fidelity, which is the fountain and the security for all the virtues ! Happy the sovereign for whom this honour becomes the reward of so many illustrious actions which cannot otherwise be repaid !

I have seen generals, officers and a multitude of those who were put in requisition, marching, with regret, to the Frontiers, and, there, desiring a French army, but, finding only foreigners, and fighting against them. I have heard what I have committed to paper: I heard these very words: “ *The deliverer of France will there find* “ *partisans; the conqueror of it is sure to meet only* “ *with enemies.*”

If the Convention has neglected no point whatever to seduce the honour of the French army, not less pains has it exerted to diffuse similar fears throughout the several departments; and, although its success, on this occasion, may have fallen short of its endeavours, yet, has it proceeded to an equally great extremity, with respect to the criminal turpitude of its tyranny and of its corruption.

After having subdued the provinces, by terror, it has endeavoured to direct this terror against the Allies. It has indulged an hope that the power and the prudence of cabinets would have become equally suspected by the French; and, availing itself of their lassitude, as soon as it conceived that it had obtained their obedience, it pointed out to them a repose in the midst of victory; of victory which could, alone, have conducted them to a certain peace. It described to them the coalesced powers, as attacking France, for the purpose of laying it waste; and it represented

continual wars as the necessary result of a partition-treaty between them; as the fruit of their success and the advantage of their conquest. In a word, the Convention has striven to arm opinion in favour of its crimes, and against the Allied Powers.

It is, therefore, against this opinion that the Allies have to contend; and it becomes the more essential to elucidate it, because, this, alone, can prepare and facilitate the success of their arms. For, in vain would they flatter themselves to obtain, by force, that which should be procured by persuasion; and, after having conquered France, they would have perceived themselves obliged, in order to preserve their footing within it, to set up an interior counter-revolutionary force.

It is, therefore, *within* France that the Allied Powers should seek for a Counter-revolution; they ought to assist towards its consummation with all their efforts; but, it is to the French that the care of directing these efforts must be entrusted. It is to them, alone, that it belongs; or, in other words, with them, alone, rests the possibility of removing opinion and powers; they, alone, can secure a pardon for the French, on account of their conquests; for, it is only their victories which cannot humiliate the self-love of the vanquished.

Nothing so forcibly proves the necessity of a similar conduct as the war of *La Vendée*. The

more the Convention dreaded its progress, the more was it desired by France. The Convention discovered, from the very first moment, that a war of this nature must have united its interests with the interests of a people whom it oppressed; and this war, in the idea of the legislative body, put on an alarming character which a foreign war would never have borne, because opinion enlists on the side of the warriors of *La Vendée*, or, at least, it cannot ascribe to them the intentions which it is constrained to attribute to the coalesced powers.

The confessions drawn from *Brissot*, in his last moments, prove, beyond a doubt, that the fear of a civil war was one of the chief reasons which determined the Convention to declare war against the allied Powers. He believed that the Convention would experience less difficulty in subjugating all Europe, than in conquering France. He grounded his hopes upon that opposition of interests which was upon the point of becoming interwoven with the coalition; and, he did not hesitate to contend that he had discovered in the conduct which Europe had, until that period, pursued, symptoms of imbecility, or, at least, of a prudence so quiet and so extraneous to the impending circumstances that it must have ended in, first, causing the dismemberment of the coalition, and, soon afterwards, effectuating the ruin of the coalesced states.

Europe had witnessed the organization of three millions of national guards ; and this spirit of politics, so gloomy in its apprehensions, which, two years before, would not permit a sovereign either to form a camp, or to collect together ten battalions ; and these cabinets, so backward in decisive explanations, which threatened to proceed to an open rupture against the monarch, who, without augmenting his troops, exercised them within the heart of his empire, smitten, on a sudden, by an universal lethargy, beheld that militia arming, in defiance, which they considered as weakened by their poor opinion of their own powers, and by the inexperience of their leaders. They were not aware that the sword, put into the hands of individuals, is seldom taken from them without their own consent ; and that liberty never offers up the sacrifice of that which has inspired it with a consciousness of its own power. They either *did* not, or *would* not perceive that the example of guilt set by the Pretorian-guards, by those who had sold the capital to the people, was on the point of communicating itself to the army ; and that the army, the nation, and the populace would soon be blended together in one mass.

In vain had the *Constituent Assembly* resolved that the frontiers of *its republic* should be lined with troops ; for, the Allied Powers, had only opposed to this decree the coldness of negotiation ;

and warlike preparations, which, amidst common circumstances, would have sufficed to have lighted up all Europe into a flame, did not even warm them into an hostile disposition. The House of *Bourbon* threatened by even more calamities than it experienced, appears to have become flighted by the surrounding sovereigns; and, indeed, too long did these last flatter themselves, that the remorse of the French nation would terminate by an expiation of their crimes! but, the people considered royalty as guilty of all for which it had suffered; they, soon, regarded it as criminally responsible for whatsoever it had permitted; and every state seemed to rejoice over the abasement to which the orders of the French monarchy were condemned.

This National Assembly which, in the records of history, bears equally as strong a mark of guilt as the Convention, dreaded a civil war; and, therefore, on this account, it did not neglect any means to avoid it, during its reign. To such an excess did it vilify the king, so basely did it flatter the people, with such meanness did it triumph on the seventeenth of July, 1789 (on that day which may be stiled *the furcæ caudinæ of royalty**) and

* This passage alludes to the *Furcæ Caudinæ*, which are, now, named *Stretto d'Arpaja*: *Arpaia* is a villiage of the ulterior principality of the kingdom of Naples, and upon the confines of Labour, between Capua and Benevento. The *Furcæ Caudinæ* are conspicuous in history, on account of the imprudence of the two Roman consuls, *Titus Teturius* and *Spurius Potheumius*, who, hav-

with so deep a perfidy did it impose upon the fidelity of the troops of the line, that the French nation found themselves without a government, without a civil war, and without laws, amidst the most corrupted of all assemblies, and the most virtuous of all kings. Each *Verres* of the constitution was in eager haste to flee before those *Jacobins*, who blush, to this very day, that such miscreants were their fathers: miscreants who left France under an embarrassment of deciding whether they had overwhelmed it the most with misfortunes or with disgrace. Europe did not foresee that these *Constitutionnels*, after having proclaimed the principles which should have occasioned it to rise in arms, collected together the forces which were marching to invade them: Europe opposed only half-means and half-measures to men who loudly invoked the whole nation to an insurrection; and, after having shed, in three campaigns, more blood, and lavished away more

ing rashly led their forces on to battle between two mountains, insuperably difficult for either their entrance or their egress, were obliged to surrender themselves prisoners to the *Samnites*, because it became impossible for them to file off otherwise than two by two. They were compelled to submit to the ignominious condition of passing under the yoke; or, in other words, between two pikes, traversed at the top by a third, beneath which all the soldiers walked, bare-headed and disarmed. This event took place in the year of Rome 433.

“ *Romanaque Samnis*

Ultra Caudinas speravit vulnera Furcas.”

Lucan. Phars. l. 3

treasures than would have served to conquer France, Europe finds herself, at this moment, in the *bappy* predicament of being able to resist her ; whereas, if her operations had been directed by circumstances rather than by men, France would have already submitted ; France would have already crowned her king ; for, it is not opportunities, it is not partisans, it is not good wishes which the sovereigns have failed to find upon this desolated land ; it is men, fit for the great purpose, who have been needful upon these occasions ; and, not a single one has presented himself, at a time when, perhaps, a deity would have proved necessary to create again thirty provinces, a public spirit, a RELIGION and a KING.

For three months past, the attainment, by force, of the re-establishment of order, has become so difficult, that it is within the heart of France, that the allied potentates must, chiefly, search after the means of accomplishing this object. It is a civil war which must, now, be landed in France ; but, it must be the war, which looks out, in all quarters, for Frenchmen, and not enemies ; and which, by casting over the vanquished the whole brilliancy of conquest, will, in the same moment, render them the participators of all its advantages.

It is by enlightening the army with respect to the ideas which they should entertain concerning the real intentions of the allied powers ; it is by

graciously receiving all the signs of their repentance, and by incorporating every Frenchman into a French army ; it is by gratifying their just pride in the inviolable preservation of their prerogatives ; it is by securing to their officers their rank, and to the soldiers their subsistence, that any hopes can be made to spring up of those desertions which are to rally together, under the standards of the fairest of all causes, the soldiers and the victims of the Convention ; it is the French chiefs who must be ushered into their presence ; and these are the two illustrious brothers who have explored every quarter for the avengers of the cause of royalty, and to whom only opportunities have been wanting to re-establish it in all its lustre ; it is this warrior * whom we have observed, in the course of the same day, after having forced the enemy to give way at the head of his squadrons, march on to victory in the front of his infantry ; this prince, upon whom the most faithful historic record will prove the highest panegyric ; it is, in one word, the House of *Bourbon*, the pride of the French nation, that must be commissioned to receive either its repentance or its submission.

Yet, it is not by acknowledging *la Vendée* as an ally of the coalition, but, on the contrary, by separating it, that the belligerent powers can hope

* Prince de Condé.

for success. This disposition is become so necessary in favour of opinion, that if *la Vendée*, the land of heroes who have seized upon the glory of the French nation, and who so faithfully keep the deposite, had served under foreign commanders, it would, perhaps, no longer have existed; because the French people would not, *there*, have seen the French monarchy; and because the Convention would have imputed to these magnanimous defenders of their native country, and of their rights, the same motives which they ventured to ascribe to the allied powers. But, keeping in view the protection of *la Vendée*, it is upon quick succours that we must place our great hopes; it is by inviting to the same banner all those French who have only their courage to oppose to their misfortunes; it is by giving the same complexion to those warriors whom the same spirit animates, and whom the same interest directs, that we can indulge the expectation of, at length, depriving the Convention of those either undecided or deluded Frenchmen, who have been constrained to draw the sword in *their* defence.

Thus, essentially supporting this vast assembly of forces, thus supplying it with arms, and with commanders all distinguished and generous, the French people will march forward, in the presence of their deliverers.

But, if it be in *Poitou*, that we must, forthwith,

seek for allies, it is at Paris that we must attack the Convention; it is there that we must strike the blow at the Revolution; for, it is not at the extremities, but absolutely and intirely in the centre. It is at *Paris*, that not only division but lassitude is in the excess. It is at *Paris* that the counter-revolution must burst forth, because, *there*, all, even to corruption, is disposed in its favour. The National Convention would not have existed at this hour; it would have been either dissolved or massacred, had it been attacked, not quite four months ago, in its own palace, with its own arms, with those means which its antagonists have neglected, and which every consideration pointed out as the most efficaciously calculated for the annihilation of its power (means to which it only could have opposed its baseness and its fears) with those means, the accomplishment of which is, perhaps, no teven yet impossible, but, which must, always, remain an impenetrable secret.

— If it be indispenfably requisite to enlighten the ideas of the French people, not less important is it, that sovereigns should lead those of their subjects towards a clear investigation of the nature of their own welfare. It is by teaching them to discover the secret of gueffing at the future predicament in which they may be placed; it is by shewing them what is *that liberty* of which the *advantages* have been offered to them, and who are these declaimers in their presence concerning

equality and *property*, that assistance may be obtained from them, and gifts offered not to the persons of sovereigns, but, to the security of empires ; not to either fear or flattery, but, to the love of the monarch, and to the salvation of the country.

In the attempt to enlighten false opinions, we should make them feel a salutary shock ; and it is by humouring them too much that they are often led astray. Let the most able writers seize upon the public spirit ; let them turn it against that assembly which has not lost a single moment in striving to corrupt it. When it became necessary to wage war against the king of *Macedon*, every orator harangued to raise up enemies against him, in all quarters ; and no individual, the *Pythia* not excepted, refrained from pronouncing *Philippics* in Greece. When the safety of *Athens* was in question, the eloquence of *Demosthenes* enticed even the *Thebans* to the war. But, if the public spirit be neglected, if the kingdoms no longer possess any country, if the empires become destitute of cities, and if instances of either imbecility or fear are rendered manifest to the people, that people will be seen to pass over, in a whole body, to the standard of the conqueror.

It is only with enthusiasm that we can fight against either a party or a faction ; and revolutionary means are to be employed, when the object is to attack a revolution. If wise and prudent hands

successfully manage the reins of government in times of calm tranquility, powerful and vigorous hands alone can hold them with a serviceable steadiness during the prevalence of the tempest ; for, the mind grows old, like the body ; and to attack the French revolution with either the maxims or the arms of the ancient system of politics, resembles the condemnation of advanced age to activity, and the compulsion of youth to sink into a state of sloth. It is, undoubtedly, a defect in politics which leaves no point to chance ; but, it is incontestable, that success in revolutions depends almost perpetually upon temerity.

Cabinets grudge their knowledge ; they desire not to forget any thing ; and they have before them but a single moment, in which they are to learn every thing. It is by banishing from their counsels all those ideas and habits of either tardiness or negotiation which the Convention has presumed to flatter itself that it can introduce within them ; it is by never permitting these propositions as base as they are insidious, propositions risked on the public opinion, to gain admission amongst their councils ; it is by not losing a single day of either their power or their rights, that the sovereigns can hinder the French Revolution from alighting within *their* capitals ; from entering *their* palaces. If it be needful to meet a reverse of fortune with characteristic dignity, disinterestedness and greatness of mind are, at this moment, the most proper

arms for an attack against the National Convention. To this convention must be opposed a centre of unity, in which all the operations of war shall have been prepared; a police as active as severe, protecting with power, and punishing with justice. Above all, that false confidence, which has made so many victims, and occasioned such innumerable misfortunes, must be totally renounced. It is with a reunion of all these means that we must prepare for a fourth campaign. It will irrecoverably decide the fate of Europe; it will exclude it from the commission of any more faults, and it will leave no ground for the continuance of hope.

We must determine what are, at the present period, the sole means of resistance against the success of the French; and of what important consequence it is that the depositary of the whole riches of the globe should not fall within their power; for, hope would prove unavailing were Holland to become their prey; and we must, in consequence, despair of gaining any decisive advantages, in the course of the next campaign. The republic of France would, then, be not alone formidable upon the seas, but mistress of all the destinies of Europe.

The Convention (and, this truth cannot be too often repeated) desires peace; but, when we decidedly investigate the principles by which it is regulated, the members who compose it and the

projects which *they* have in agitation, it is difficult to avoid feeling a conviction that the Committee of Public Safety will conquer Holland, for the purpose of directing its arms more exclusively against England, and of rendering peace so unavoidably necessary for the other powers, that they will have no alternative left but to submit. And, yet, it is not too late: the French may be stopt in their progress; the limits of victory may be traced out; and we may reach the next campaign.

At this epoch, an army *entirely French*, is indispensably requisite. This nation which invokes around it such a number of illustrious but proscribed individuals, which has given them arms and made them a present of their own colours, will not leave such an enterprize imperfect: it will accomplish its work. Emigration: that devotedness as sublime as it is impolitic, threw before England a splendid opportunity for the full display of her generosity: it, *now*, goes much farther for *her* sake; it ascertains for *her* the means of acquiring immense glory; an eternal glory! By the single exertion of her naval power, Great Britain, mistress of the seas, might, yet, carry the monarchy into France, and place it in that land where it will never perish!

But, scattered battallions to be entrusted, elsewhere, with the fate of the French empire, are out of the question. No! let these warriors prove al-

ways, and in every quarter, unconquerable ! They were observed, at *Menin*, converting a defeat into a triumph ; they were remarked, in *Alsace*, as astonishing both their allies and their enemies, by their courage, and, particularly in consequence of their numbers ; but, desolate, and without the least prop, they may shortly yield to the course of foreign circumstances : the richest blood of the monarchy may flow upon the frontiers, without restoring the people to their God and to their *King* : names must prove immortal ; but, the legions will have perished. These are the French who should lead their fellow-warriors to battle ; these are their princes who should give the signal for the attack ; it is at *their* side, it is in *their* view, and in *their* country that these legions must either triumph or perish !

Were that fatality, which often ascertains the lot of empires to fall, like a paralytic stroke, upon the last means which Europe has in reserve for its defence ; were the anxious prayers which the truest love and the most inviolable attachment to the justest of all causes, now, offer up, to prove unavailing ; if, in continuing the war, neither its nature nor its dangers should experience the least change, *then* (and, *here*, we come to the most afflicting of all truths) *then*, we must accept of peace ; and even *such* a peace will prove preferable to *such* a war. Humanity will, at least, enjoy a transient illusion ; and Europe will take

breath, for a moment, before the arrival of the barbarians.

Let malevolence still struggle to torture my remarks by misrepresentation ; let it labour, let it exhaust itself in straining to make *that* understood which I have *not* written, and to misunderstand that which I *have* written ! Thus, will I answer : The homage of the most profound respect, and of the most ardent zeal which can be laid at the feet of monarchs, is all and intirely impregnated with truth ; and *so* is it that He who presents this homage does not betray their cause. I feel the consciousness of having fulfilled a sacred duty : *I have told the truth*. The truth was no longer concealed upon the ramparts of *Troy*, after the death of *Hector*.

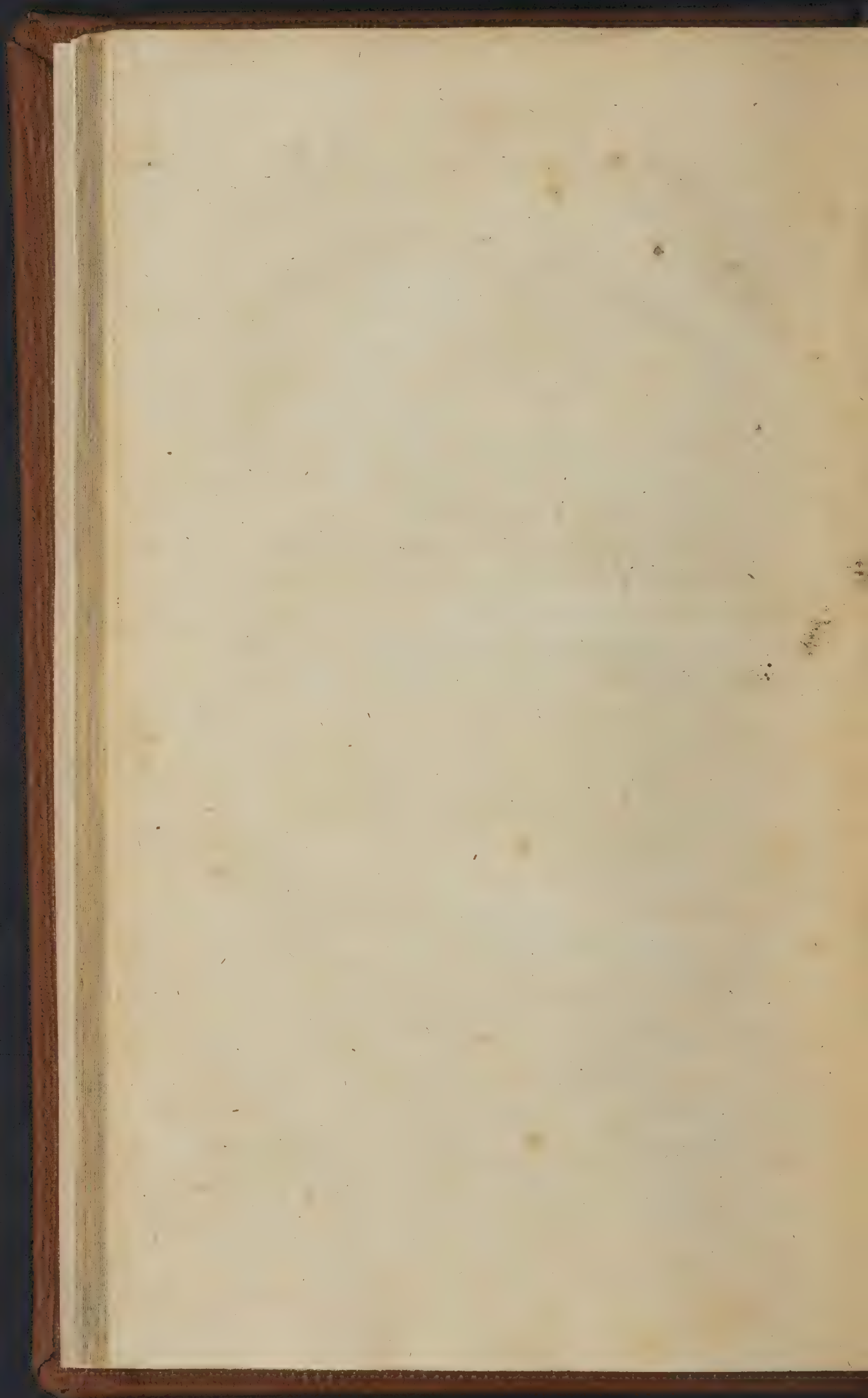
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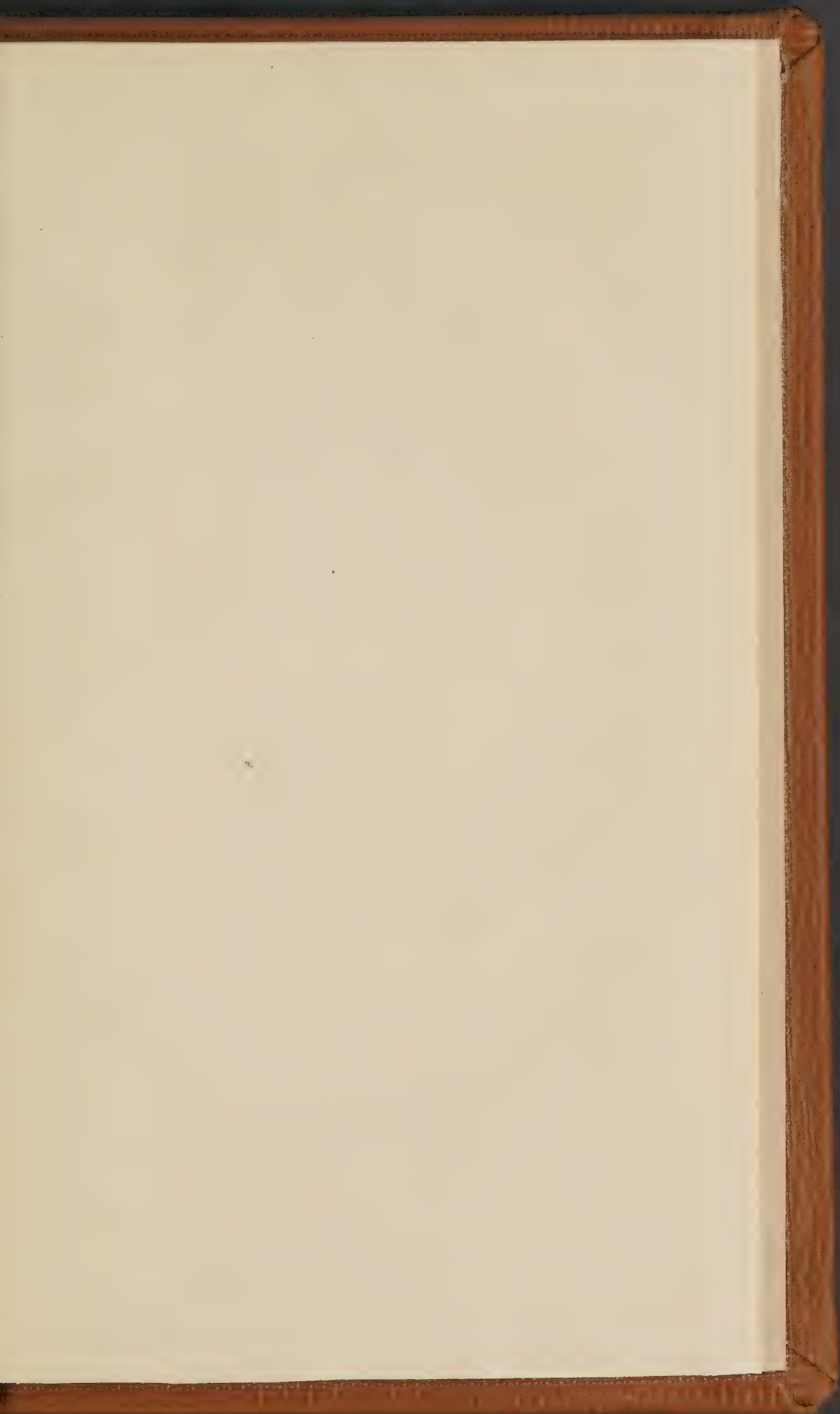
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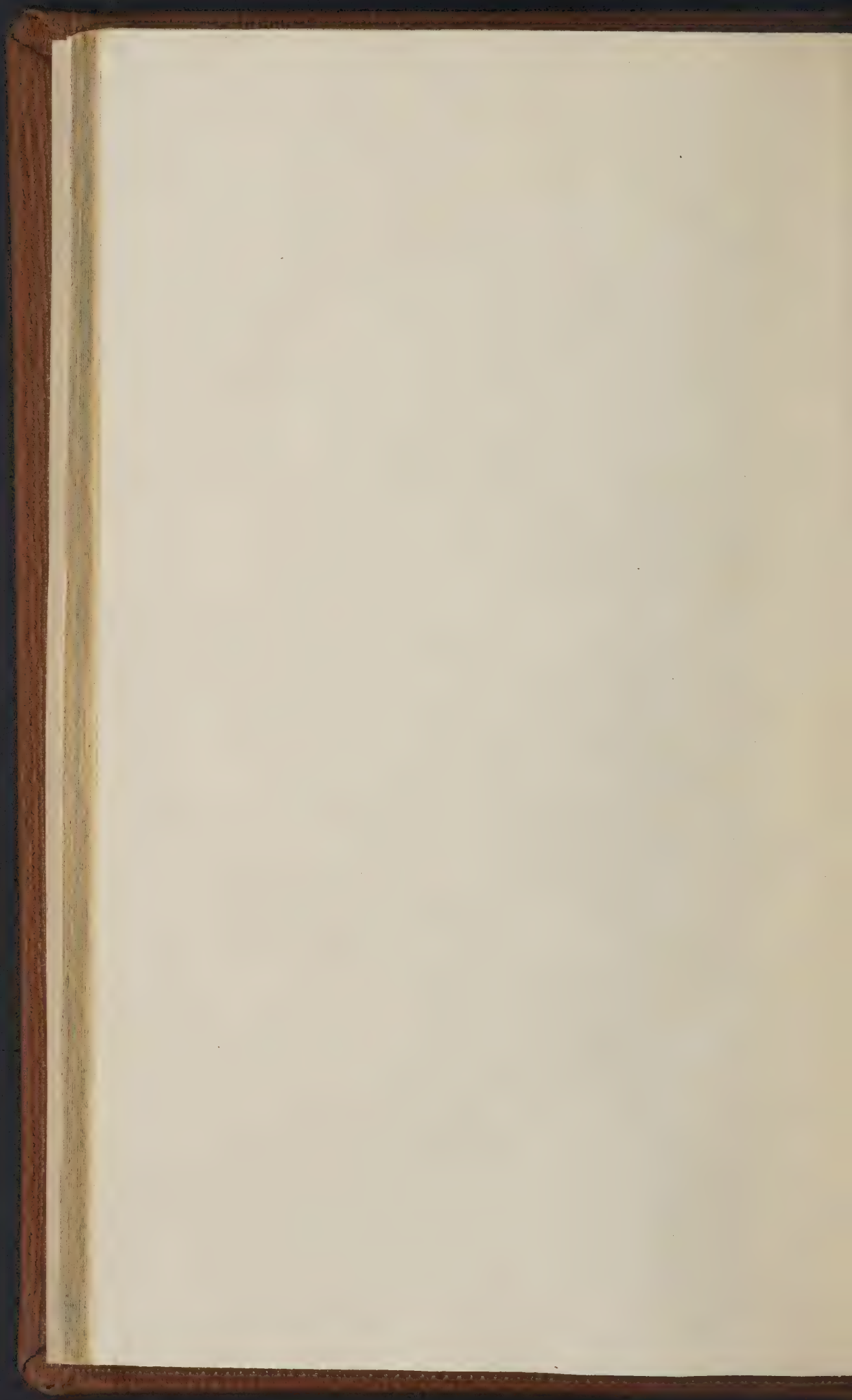
P. 5. l. 18, for *by whom they were all displaced* read *wh.*
himself executed all their business.

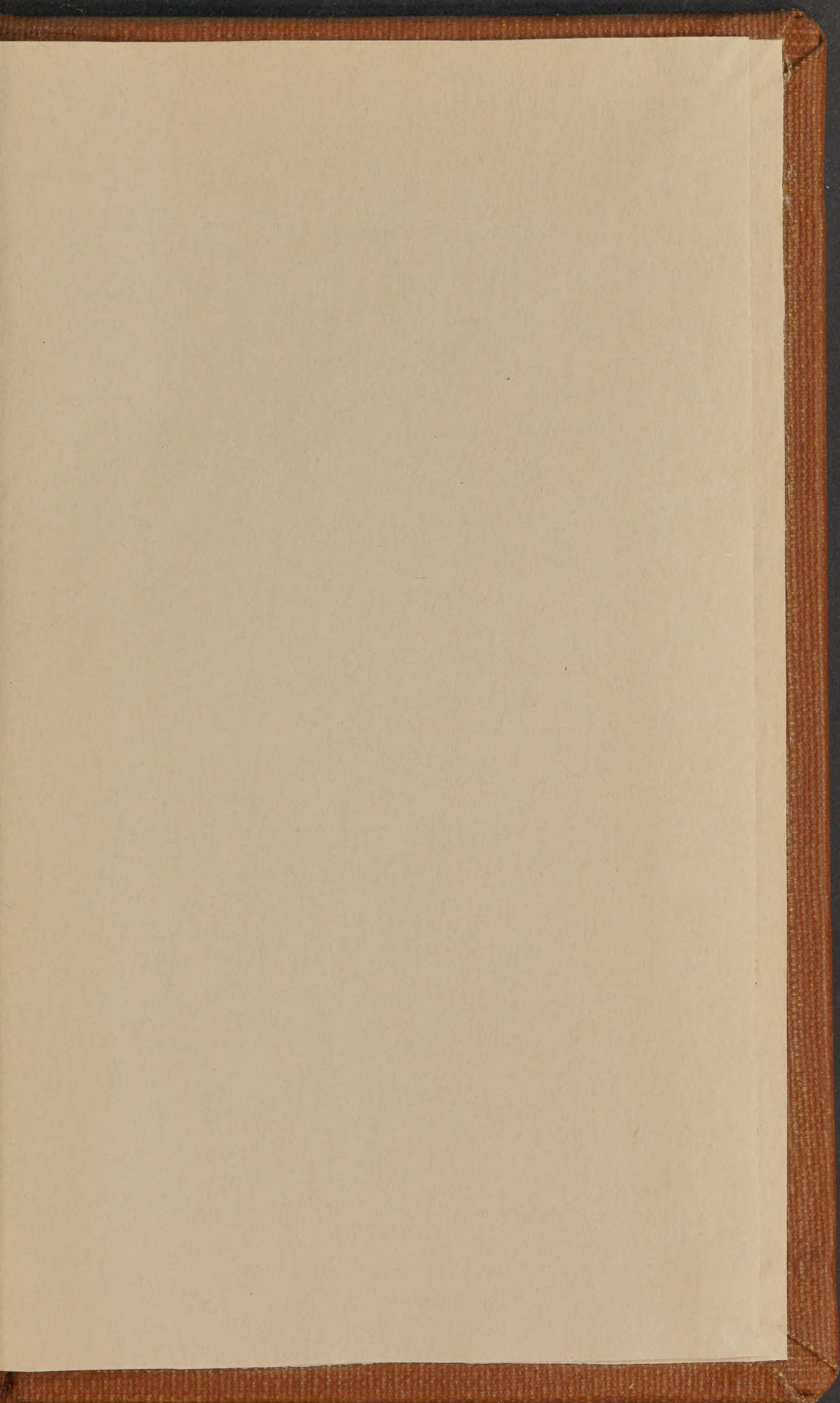
P. 7. l. 27, read *attacked at once.*

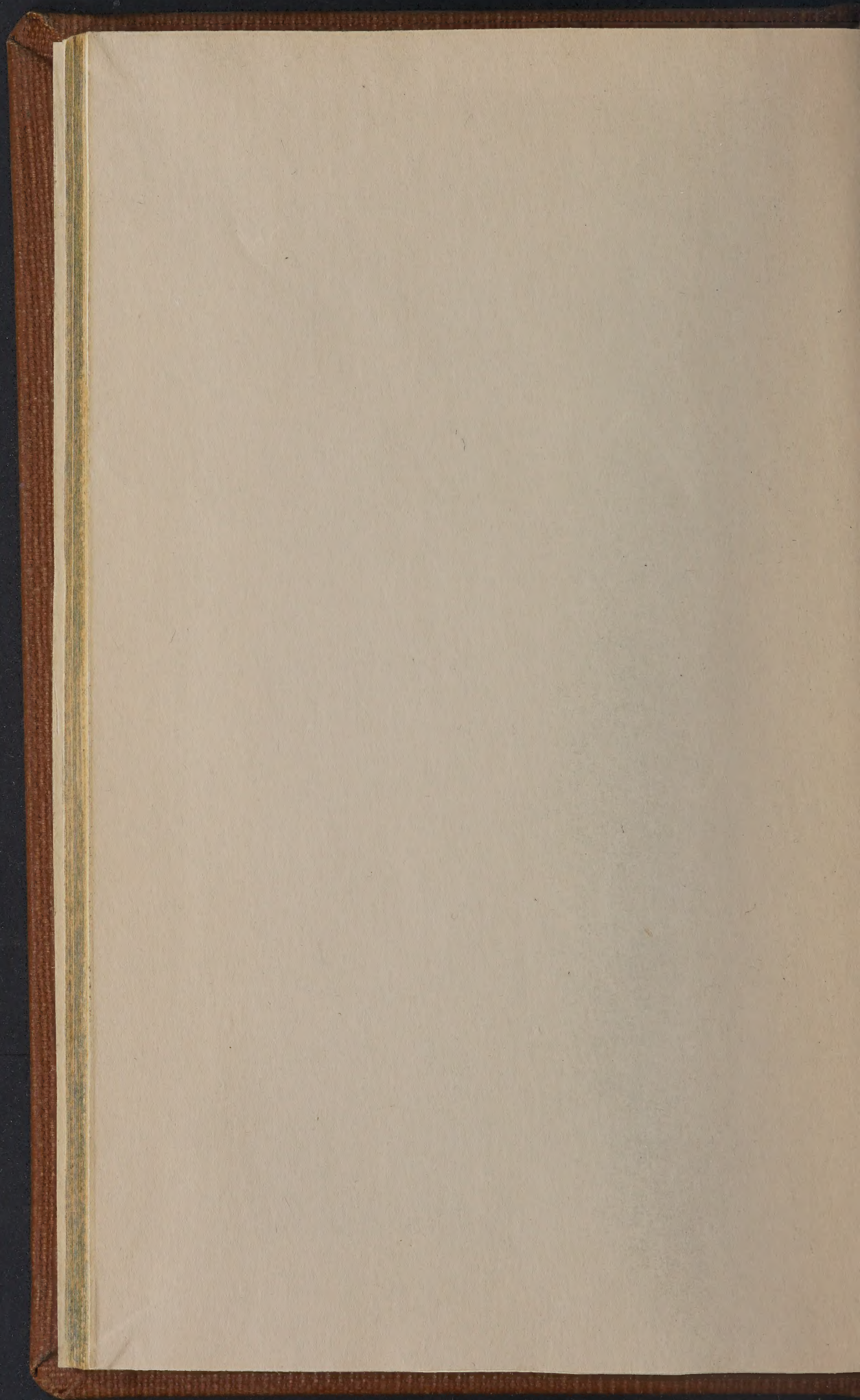
P. 19. l. 4, read *of Society.*











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